















*Mandeville, John*

# Mandeville's Travels,

Translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse.

EDITED FROM  
MS. COTTON TITUS C. XVI,  
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY  
P. HAMELIUS

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It is with deepest regret that this volume, completing the edition of *Mandeville's Travels*, is given to the world as the orphaned heir of its scholarly editor. Some months before the great war, Professor Hamelius, of the University of Liège, called on me and expressed his wish to undertake some piece of work for the Society, if a suitable text could be suggested. I bethought me of *Mandeville's Travels* as the most noteworthy link between English literature and Liège, and proposed that he should consider whether he would undertake the task. I heard nothing from him for a time, and during the perilous days of the siege of Liège he was often in my mind. Shortly after, having done his duty manfully, he reported himself as being safe and sound, and working hard at Mandeville in the British Museum. It was not only, however, this Middle English text that claimed his devotion. He wrote an account of the siege in which he had borne his part, and did much to enlighten English readers on Belgian literature and on matters of common interest between his own and this country. He gave some striking lectures to University and other audiences, and became recognised here as almost an unofficial representative of the intellectual life of Belgium. He was keenly alert, open-minded, and most painstaking, and soon gained the affectionate regard of those who knew the tender sensitiveness of the seemingly severe scholar. Throughout the whole period of the war he was constantly at work on what had become his absorbing interest, this edition of *Mandeville's Travels*. Great was his joy when in 1919 Vol. I, the text, was issued by the Society, fittingly dedicated to General Leman, the defender of Liège. The gallant General has passed away; and now, alas, the patriot editor has not lived to witness the publication of the completion of his

labours. For long years to come, this edition of Mandeville will remain as the best memorial of his devotion to learning, and as a touching testimony of the intellectual and cordial relationship between Belgian and British scholars in the midst of calamitous years of stress and strain. By all of us who knew him, Paul Hamelius will be remembered as one too early lost to English learning. We pay a fraternal tribute to his memory.

I. G.

*March 6th, 1923.*



## PREFACE

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who have kindly helped or advised the editor in his task of trying to put the book of Mandeville and its author in their proper places, somewhere near the outskirts of limbo.

Sir George Warner, who cleared the ground with his masterly Roxburghe Club edition, encouraged one who, as an unknown student, had no claim whatever on his attention, with the utmost liberality. Sir I. Gollancz, Director of Editions of the Early English Text Society, first suggested the work and followed it with constant interest and valuable suggestions. To other friends I have tried to do justice in my notes, but the learning, courtesy and hospitality of the staff of the Library of the British Museum are beyond praise.

As for the shortcomings of the present work, I beg leave to repeat humbly after Ronsard :

Quand les petits bergers font aux champs une faute,  
Petite, elle ne tire un repentir après.

P. H.



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# Mandeville's Travels

## INTRODUCTION

THE principal authorities are :

Sir G. Warner, in his edition: *The Buke of Maunde vil* (Roxburgh Club, 1889).

Albert Bovenschen: *Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung* (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. Berlin, Reimer, 1888).

Johann Vogels: *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über die englische Version Mandeville's* (Crefeld, 1891).

Godefroi Kurth: *Étude critique sur Jean d'Outremeuse* (Memoirs of the Academy of Brussels. Hayez, 1910).

L. Pannier: *Les lapidaires français*, 1882.

### I

#### SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE

THE book of *Mandeville's Travels* is so unreliable that it must appear last, if at all, among evidence for its authorship. That an English knight, a physician and traveller, has been buried in Liège in 1372 is attested by his epitaph, transcribed in the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The tomb and the church of the Guillemins containing it were destroyed at the time of the French Revolution. Püterich von Reichertshausen (born about 1400) was first in publishing the epitaph in a letter to an Archduchess of Austria, dated 1462: Hic iacet nobilis Dominus Joannes de Montevilla Miles, alias dictus ad Barbam, Dominus de Compredi, natus de Anglia, medicinae professor et devotissimus orator et bonorum suorum largissimus pauperibus erogator qui totum orbem peragravit in stratu Leodii diem vitae suae clausit extremum. Anno Dni millesimò trecentesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Februarij septimo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, VI, pp. 31-59 st. 131-135.—Raim. Duellius: *Excerptorum genealogico-historicorum*, libri duo, 1725, pp. 281-282.



About a century later, the Belgian geographer Ortelius copied it again, differing from Püterich in five points: instead of Montevilla he reads Mandeville; instead of Compredi, Campdi; instead of de Anglia, in Anglia; after bonorum he omits suorum; instead of qui totum . . . stratu, he reads: qui toto quasi urbe lustrato; instead of 1372, he makes the date 1371. Püterich's stratu makes no sense, and must be wrong. Camperdi, with a crossed p, may well stand for champ perdu, which the late Prof. V. Chauvin told me was an old name for one of the islands in the river Meuse, near Liége.<sup>1</sup>

From those two versions, the epitaph can be reconstructed and interpreted as follows:

Hic jacet nobilis Dominus Joannes de [Mandeville] miles, alias dictus ad Barbam, Dominus de [Camperdi], natus [in] Anglia, medicinae professor et devotissimus orator et bonorum [suorum] largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui [toto quasi orbe lustrato] Leodii diem vitae suae clausit extremum anno [Domini] millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo secundo mensis Februarij septimo.

The Latin *professor* may mean one who practises a profession, and *orator* one who prays. If so, we may translate: Here lies the gentle Sir John of Mandeville, knight, otherwise named with the Beard, lord of Champ-perdu, born in England, practitioner of medicine and very pious in his prayers and very liberal in giving of his property to the poor. After viewing nearly all the world, he ended the last day of his life at Liége in the year of Our Lord one thousand three hundred and seventy-two on February seventh.

The epitaph was again copied in the seventeenth century by an English priest of Liége called Edmund Leukner (identified by Sir G. Warner with the name of Lewknor) and printed in Pitseus (John Pits): *Relationes historicae de rebus anglicis*, 1619, p. 511. John Weever, who is reported to have visited Liége, prints it in his *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 567. It was again transcribed and published by Pierre Lambinet: *Recherches . . . sur l'origine de l'imprimerie*, Brussels, 1799, p. 302. One more eye-witness claims to have seen it: the Rev. Charles Ellis, in a letter dated 1699 (*Philosophical Transactions*, XXIII., 1703, p. 1418).

The authority of the epitaph, while quite convincing in itself, is still strengthened by two documents referring to real property and its holders in the city of Liége. The earlier, dated 1386, about

<sup>1</sup> Ortelius: *Itinerarium Gallo-Brabanticum*, Leiden, 1630, p. 212.



fourteen years after the English doctor's death, describes him as a former inmate of a house under the name of "Mestre Johan ale Barbe." In 1459, the same house is again mentioned as the one "la Mandavele ly chevalier d'Engleterre qui avoit esteit par universe monde solloit demoreir, qui gist a Willmins," i. e. where Mandavele (*sic*) the knight of England, who had been through all the world, used to dwell, who now lies in [the church of the] Guillemins.<sup>1</sup> No better confirmation could be desired. Those three early and authentic documents agree in omitting the name John of Burgoyne, often accepted as the doctor's real name, and in making no mention of his ever being an author.

After this evidence, the reports of chroniclers are of small importance, as they chiefly repeat what they knew from the epitaph. An early example is Raoul de Rivo, who died in 1403, and may therefore have known Mandeville personally. In his continuation of Hocsem's chronicle, he writes: Hoc anno [1367] Joannes Mandevilius natione Anglus vir ingenio et arte medendi eminens qui toto fere terrarum orbe peragrato tribus linguis peregrinationem suam doctissime conscripsit, in alium orbem nullis finibus clausum, longeque hoc quietiorem et beatiorem migravit 17 Novembris. Sepultus in ecclesia Wilhelmitarum non procul ab moenibus civitatis Leodiensis.<sup>2</sup> Rivo's dates are wrong. Moreover, his statement is open to two objections: it repeats what may be read in the epitaph and in the mendacious book of Travels; it maintains what is demonstrably untrue: for the three versions (French, Latin and English) cannot be by the same hand, as the English contains many mistranslations from the French. The later chroniclers adduced by Bovenschen and Sir G. Warner are equally worthless as witnesses. The references are:

Cornelius Zantfliet: *Chronicon*, printed in Martène et Durand: *Amplissima collectio*, 1729, t. V., p. 299.

Hartmann Schedel: *Chronik* (Koberger, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. ccxxvii.).

Werner Rolevink: *Fasciculus temporum*, printed in Pistorius: *Scriptt. Germanici*, II., p. 564.

John Bale: *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae catalogus*. 1557, II., p. 478.

<sup>1</sup> Both documents are printed in Gobert: *Les rues de Liège*, 1901, Vol. IV., pp. 201-203. His misprint *mort*, instead of *avoit*, has been kindly pointed out by M. Lahaye, archivist.

<sup>2</sup> Chapeville: *Gesta pontificum leodiensium*, Vol. III., p. 17.

Anton. Meyer: *Commentarii sive annales rerum flandricarum*. Antwerp, 1561, lib. XIII., p. 165.

Hadrian Barlandus: *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia*. Cologne, 1603, pp. 138-139.

Leland: *Commentarii de Scriptt. Britannicis*, 1709, t. II., p. 366.

Bergeron: *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, 1735.

C. Schönborn: *Bibliographische Untersuchungen über die Reisebeschreibung des Sir John Mandeville*. Festschrift, Breslau, 1840.

Franc. Zambrini: *I viaggi di G. da Mandavilla*, Bologna, 1872.

Lorenzen: *Mandevilles Rejse*. 1882.

Sir G. Warner's Life of Mandeville in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

A Christian name, John, a surname, de Mandeville, and a descriptive nickname, With the Beard, might be deemed sufficient for one man. Nevertheless, a fourth and fifth name, de Bourgogne and de Bordeaux (de Burdegalia), are found connected with the other three in writings of doubtful authority. First in a passage of the lost fourth book of the arch-romancer d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories*, next in d'Outremeuse's French *Trésorier de Philosophie naturelle* (Bibl. Nat. Fonds français 12326), last in a Treatise of the Plague, extant in Latin, French and English (L. Delisle, *Cat. des MSS. Libri et Barrois*, 1888, p. 252). On the significance and value of those two additional names no one appears to have shed any light. That a book of medicine, such as the above treatise of the plague, and one of natural philosophy, such as the lapidary, should be the work of a man described in his epitaph as "medicinae professor" is not improbable.<sup>1</sup>

We can now take leave of Sir John Mandeville, having made ourselves acquainted with his nationality, his profession, his character as a traveller and the date of his death. The origin of the two scientific books ascribed to him and of his multifarious surnames we leave for historians of medicine to discuss. As to his connection with the fictitious book of Travels, there may possibly be a clue to it in the Latin vulgate version, which opposes the physician Master John with the Beard to the knight Sir John

<sup>1</sup> Is. del Sotto: *Le lapidaire du XIV<sup>me</sup> siècle, d'après le traité du chevalier Jean de Mandeville*. Vienne, 1862.



Mandeville, thus splitting into two doubles the names of one individual. In Chapter VII. of this version Sir John writes of his stay at Cairo : Porro ego in curia manens vidi circa soldanum unum venerabilem et expertum medicum de nostris partibus oriendum. Solet namque circa se retinere diversarum medicos nationum, quos renominande audierit esse fame. Nos autem raro invicem convenimus ad colloquium, eo quod meum servitium cum suo modicum congruebat. Longo autem postea tempore et ab illo loco remote, viz. in Leodij civitate composui hortatu et adiutorio eiusdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, sicut in fine huius totius operis plenius enarrabo.—While I stayed at court I saw about the soudan a venerable and able physician hailing from our country. For he uses to keep about him physicians of various nationalities, whose reputation has reached his ears. We two had but few opportunities for conversation, as my duties were widely different from his. A long time after, and a long distance away, viz. in the city of Liége, I by the advice and with the assistance of the same worshipful man composed the present treatise, as I shall more fully tell at the close of the whole book.

The sequel of the tale is given in Chapter L. : Itaque anno a nativitate Domini Jesu Christi m.ccc.lv. in repatriando cum ad nobilem Legie seu Leodii civitate[m] permansissem et pre gravitate ac arteticis guttis illuc decumberem in vico qui dicitur basse sauenyr, consului causa convalescendi aliquos medicos civitatis et accidit Dei nutu unum intrare phisicum super alios etate simul et canicie venerandum ac in sua arte euidenter expertum qui ibi dicebatur magister Iohannes ad Barbam. Is ergo cum pariter colloqueremur interseruit dictis aliqua per que tam nostra invicem renovabatur antiqua noticia quam quondam habueramus in Cayr egipti apud Calahelich soldani prout supra tetigi .vij. ca[pitulo huius] libri. Qui cum in me experientiam artis sue excellenter monstrasset adhortabatur ac precabatur instanter ut de his que videram tempore peregrinationis mee per mundum aliqua digererem in scriptis ad legendum et audiendum pro utilitate posteris. Sic quoque tandem illius monitiis et adiutorio compositus est iste tractatus de quo certe nihil scribere proposueram donec saltem ad partes proprias in anglia pervenissem. Et credo premissa circa me per providentiam et gratiam dei contigisse. Quum a tempore quo recessi duo reges nostri anglie et francie non cessaverunt invicem exercere prelia, destructiones depredationes insidias et interfectiones



inter quas nisi a Domino custoditus non transissem sine morte vel mortis periculo et sine criminum grandi cumulo. Et nunc ecce anno egressionis mee xxxiiij. constitutus in leodiensi civitate que a mari anglie distat solum per duas dietas audio dictas dominorum inimicitias per gratiam Dei compositas. Quapropter et spero ac propono de reliquo secundum maturiorem etatem me posse in proprijs intendere corporis quieti animeque saluti. Hic itaque finis sit scripti, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1355 after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, while I was travelling home, I stayed near the noble city of Liége and was there laid up by disease and arthritic gout in the ward called Basse Sauvenière. For my recovery I consulted some doctors of the town, and by God's will it happened that one physician came in who was more venerable than the rest through his age and hoary hair and evidently expert in his art. He was there called Master John with the Beard. Now as we were conversing together he dropped some remarks by which we renewed our mutual acquaintance which we had at Cairo in Egypt in the soudan's castle, and which I touched upon in Chapter VII. of the present book. While displaying his knowledge of his art to my benefit, he admonished and prayed me instantly that I should reduce to writing something of what I had seen while roaming through the world, that it might be read and heard for the use of posterity. So at last, through his advice and with his assistance, the present treatise was composed, of which I intended to write nothing until I finally reached my own country in England. And I believe that the above adventures happened to me by God's providence and grace. For from the time when I started travelling, our two kings of England and France did not cease to wage mutual war, destruction, depredation, ambushes and killing which I could not, but for divine protection, have passed without death or peril of death, or without great accumulation of evils. While now, thirty-three years after my departure, dwelling in the city of Liége, which lies only two days' journey from the English sea, I learn that through the grace of God the abovesaid enmity of those lords has been settled. Therefore I hope and intend, for the rest of my riper years to be able to attend to the rest of my body and to the salvation of my soul at home. Here then is the end of my writing, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Mandeville, *Itinerarius*, black letter, no date. British Museum press mark : G 6700.



Can a grain of truth be discerned under this story, which contradicts our English version (p. 210)? As the fictitious journey ends in 1356, it was some years before the peace of Brétigny (1360) between Edward III. and John the Good of France. Probably the book was actually written after the peace, as the *Itinerarius* hints. Perhaps the English doctor and traveller, when settled at Liège, advised and helped the younger Jean d'Outremeuse in the composition of a work dealing with Eastern geography and intended to serve certain political interests in England. So much we may venture to guess, but cannot hope to demonstrate.

It may help further research to point out that a surgeon named Henri de Mondeville lived in the early fourteenth century and attended the French armies in Flanders in 1301, and that the name Mandeville occurs again in the annals of the medical profession to the north of Liège, in the Dutch province of Guelders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At Dordrecht in the west of Holland was born about 1670 another medical man connected with English literature and with the progress of freethought, Bernard Mandeville, the author of the *Fable of the Bees*. Whether those worthies belong to the same stock we have not examined.

What the French and English versions of the book of Travels tell about its authorship is hardly worth considering. No doubt a convicted liar may occasionally speak the truth, only in such a case he would not openly contradict himself. Now the book reports that it was shown to the pope in Rome when there was no pope in Rome (p. 210, l. 1), and that it was afterwards written (p. 210, l. 31), as the French has it, in Liège. This is as incredible as the Latin quoted above. All that can be admitted is that d'Outremeuse (born 1338) may have known Mandeville (died 1372), and as there is in Paris a French MS. of the Travels dated 1371, that the traveller and doctor may have winked at the use of his name in a fictitious itinerary. The question why a book made by one man should have circulated under the name of another, who was alive to disown it, is difficult to solve. Strange instances of hoaxes perpetrated in d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* have been adduced by Prof. Kurth, but for fathering the book of Travels on the Englishman he may have had a practical and sensible reason. Its bold attacks on the dogmas and discipline of the Church might arouse the resentment of the ecclesiastical authorities. By concealing himself

behind the mask of an assumed name he could shelter himself from possible persecution.

To be complete, we translate from a quotation by S. Bormans the strange fable of Mandeville's death and identity preserved from the lost 4th part of d'Outremeuse's *Mirror*:

In 1372 died at Liège on the twelfth of November a man who was greatly distinguished for his birth. He was content to be known by the name of John of Burgundy, called With the Beard. He, however, opened his heart on his death-bed to Jean d'Outremeuse, his gossip, whom he appointed his executor. In truth, he entitled himself, in the deed of his last will, Sir John Mandeville, knight, Earl of Montfort in England and lord of the isle of campdi and of the castle Pérouse.<sup>1</sup> Having, however, had the misfortune of killing in his country an earl whom he does not name, he bound himself to travel through the three parts of the world. Came to Liège in 1343. Issued as he was from very high nobility, he loved to keep himself hidden. He was, moreover, a great naturalist, a profound philosopher and astrologer, especially adding a very singular knowledge of physics, rarely making mistakes when he told his opinion about a patient, whether he would recover or not. When dead at last, he was buried with the brethren Wilhelmites, in the suburb of Avroy, as you have been able to see more fully above.<sup>2</sup>

## II

### JEAN D'OUTREMEUSE

JEAN D'OUTREMEUSE, in all probability the real author of the *Travels*, has been stripped of many borrowed plumes by modern criticism. He had no right to the aristocratic name and pedigree of Des Pres. "Né le 2 janvier 1338, il entra dans la cléricature, c.à.d. qu'il fut tonsuré et porta le costume ecclésiastique, sans d'ailleurs jamais recevoir les ordres. Mari de Catherine Martial, qui lui survécut, il en eut un fils qui devint 'chanoine de Liège'"—that is, not of the Cathedral chapter, which had a share in the Government of the Episcopal Principality, but of some one of the seven collegiate churches. "Lui-même se dit 'clerc liégeois, notaire

<sup>1</sup> The late Prof. Chauvin thought of Pierreuse, an old and erewhile respectable street of Liège.

<sup>2</sup> Bormans's *Introduction to the Mirror of Histories*, 1887, p. cxxxiii.



public, audencier et comte palatin'''—a non-aristocratic title, belonging to legal officers in certain Bishops' Palaces. "Il remplissait auprès de la cour de l'official des fonctions qui . . . devaient présenter une certaine analogie avec celle de greffier."<sup>1</sup> He died November 25, 1400; his obit, dated on the next day, has been printed by Bormans (*Bulletin*, etc.).

Our reasons for ascribing the *Travels* to him do not amount to absolute proof, and rest merely on strong circumstantial and internal evidence. Similarity of contents, tone and spirit between two books may go a long way towards proving common authorship, and the *Travels* have many passages and features in common with the authentic *Mirror of Histories*.

The contents of Friar Odoric de Pordenone's *Travels in the Far East* have been conveyed wholesale into both works, being attributed to Sir John Mandeville in one case and to Ogier the Dane in the other (Vol. III., pp. 56–67 of the *Mirror*). Minute coincidences have been pointed out in our notes, such as the blunder of letting the four different kinds of wood in the True Cross grow from three seeds (note to p. 7, l. 24). It is hardly possible that such a mistake has been committed independently by two writers. Large as is the number of examples mentioned in the notes, it might be increased by a systematic search.

Another argument has been reached separately by Prof. Gustave Charlier, of the University of Brussels, and by myself. In Vol. IV. p. 587 of the *Mirror*, d'Outremeuse writes that he will not tarry to describe Tartary, because he has fully discussed that country elsewhere. S. Bormans (p. xc of his *Introduction*, 1887) remarks that the *Trésorier de Philosophie naturelle* contains no such account. Now the *Mandeville* does, especially in Chapter XXV., which narrates the foundation by Jenghiz Khan of the Tartar empire. In so far as a statement by d'Outremeuse is worth any notice, this would amount to an indirect avowal of authorship.

Taken singly, each of the above arguments is inconclusive. Put together, they become very strong. It is hardly becoming for an editor to boast of having copied a French and an English MS. of *Mandeville* with his own hand, and devoted years to collecting and considering the evidence, yet the impression gained by him as the

<sup>1</sup> Kurth, as above, following Bormans, *Introduction to d'Outremeuse*, pp. vi seq., and *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 5<sup>e</sup> série, t. I., pp. 282 seq., 1891.



result of such work may claim a scientific value, unless he has grown biased by focusing his attention on one point. With this proviso, I may state that to me d'Outremeuse appears as the only possible author of *Mandeville*: his attacks on the Papacy (in the *Mirror*, Vol. V., p. 165, the pope and cardinals are accused of taking bribes from John Lackland) evince Wycliffite tendencies in agreement with the dedication of the *Travels* to Edward III. His indecencies betray a coarse mind fed on Medieval fabliaux. The mockery of the heroic conventions of the romances, especially of the Alexandrian and Crusading epics, shows a memory conversant with wonderful adventures in the Near and in the Far East and a satirical contempt for their religious enthusiasm. Now such characteristics are not uncommon in the fourteenth century: if it were permissible to name Chaucer in the same breath with the author of *Mandeville*, their mental attitudes might in some respects be compared.

But where d'Outremeuse cannot be matched is in his capacity for mixing and confusing truth and untruth. His spirit is too grovelling for high fiction, for the creation of a fair imaginary world. All the elements of his romancing are prosaic and vulgar. But he puts them together with brazen audacity, disfigures or invents proper names, alters numbers and circumstances, to the despair of those honest commentators who have traced him to his sources. No plagiarist has pilfered more unscrupulously, and yet he always reasserts his fickle originality by his knack of distorting the texts from which he borrows. This was partly deliberate deceit, but it might also spring from carelessness in copying, from trusting a slippery memory, or even from a peculiar notion of an author's rights and duties. Whether his motives were purely mercenary, or whether he obeyed an original impulse, his chief aim was to entertain while pretending to impart solid historical or geographical information. Dry facts he collected in abundance from Boldensele's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from Odoric's two accounts of his travels in Palestine and in the Far East, from Haiton of Armenia's *Flower of Histories*. But he spiced them by means of fabulous details drawn from the romances of Eastern adventure which deal with Alexander the Great's expeditions to Persia and India, and with the experiences of Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions among the Saracens. The influence of the Medieval epic is felt in the manner as well as in the matter of the



*Mandeville*. It has been pointed out to me by an English poet of distinction that its prose style is rhythmical and balanced, and that it somewhat retains the movement of poetry. Prof. Kurth, the principal authority on Jean d'Outremeuse, finds him a faithful imitator of the mannerisms and conventions of the minstrels.

This brings us to a hitherto unsolved riddle in the work of the notary of Liège. It is denied by no one that he composed epics and romances in verse, as he writes himself: "Toute les giestes et histoires que je ay fait, je les fis et formay anchois que je translatasse et metisse en chest ches miens croniques, car je n'avoie nulle pensée de translateir, por xx. années près; si que je fis mes histoires toutes plaines" (*Miroir des Histoires*, Vol. III., p. 402).

Although the meaning of the last word is open to dispute, the general sense is clear: All the gestes and histories that I have made I made and shaped before transferring and putting them into these my present chronicles, for I had no thought of transferring for wellnigh twenty years; so that I made my histories all plain. From this statement it has been rightly concluded that the *Mirror of Histories*, a huge chronicle in prose, is the work of his later years, and that during his first twenty years of authorship he wrote historical works in rhyme, dealing in part with the same matter as the *Mirror*. One such poem, the *Geste de Liège*, is extant and has been printed along with the prose. Where are the others?

The liar himself declares, speaking of Ogier the Dane: "Toutes ses chouses sont declareis en la nouvelle gieste que nous meisme avons fait sour Ogier" (*Mirror*, Vol. III., 1873, p. 111). All these things are set forth in the new geste that we have ourselves made on Ogier. No trace of this has been discovered, although a graduate of Liège University, M. Edgar Renard, in a manuscript dissertation, has done his best to search for it. But Ogier appears in some French and Latin versions of the *Mandeville* as a conqueror of India and as protector of Christianity there. In the *Mirror*, Ogier is put in the place of Odoric as a traveller in the Far East. Here we have one more point of contact between d'Outremeuse and the *Mandeville*. Elsewhere in the *Mirror*, d'Outremeuse writes that he will not tell the full story of the Crusades, because it is contained in the gestes or romances. The Crusade happened "ensi que li romans qui son fais de Godefroit de Builhon deviseit, qui s'accordent asseis as croniques; et partant de cel histor je l'envoie à romans de Godefrois, excepteis



aliquant fais dont je parleray quant temps serait" (*Mirror*, Vol. IV., 1877, p. 290). The Crusade took place as the romances which have been made about Godfrey of Bouillon relate, which agree well with the chronicles. And therefore I send [the reader] from this history to the romances of Godfrey, excepting some events that I shall discuss when the time comes.

Now two romances of Godfrey are known, one printed in fragments by Paulin Paris and by Hippeau, under the titles of *La Chanson d'Antioche*, *Le Roman du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon*, and *La Chanson de Jérusalem*. This may be put out of court. The other is a lengthy *rifacimento* of the late fourteenth century printed by de Reiffenberg and fully discussed by Paulin Paris in Vol. XXV., pp. 507, etc., of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, along with its two sequels, the *Baudouin de Sebourg* printed by Bocca and the *Bâtard de Bouillon* printed by Scheler. We accept the conclusion of Paulin Paris, that the latter three, forming a monstrous whole of many thousands of lines, are by one hand, and that this hand is that of an author of Liège, who wrote in the second half of the fourteenth century. Here, then, is a huge body of pseudo-historical verse about the fabulous East, composed in Liège by an author not yet identified. On the other hand, we miss the unidentified verse of Jean d'Outremeuse, supposed to deal with Ogier the Dane, the conqueror of the fabulous East, and one of the characters in the second part of *Mandeville's Travels* (Latin and French). What stands in the way of giving the unwieldy trilogy, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, *Baldwin of Sebourg*, and the *Bastard of Bouillon*, to d'Outremeuse himself? The lack of direct evidence, for while claiming to have made many gestes and histories, he does not expressly state that he dealt with the cycle of the Crusades.

As for the internal evidence, without overrating its value, it must be confessed that it points to single authorship of the trilogy, the *Mirror* and the *Travels*. What Paulin Paris writes, of his anonymous minstrel of Liège, and Prof. Kurth of the chronicler, d'Outremeuse applies equally to our book of *Travels*. The opinions and idiosyncrasies found in them, their anti-clericalism, their cynicism and licentiousness, their relentless mockery of courtly love and religious enthusiasm, joined to a boundless admiration for physical strength and for impossible feats of arms, their cringing reverence for high rank, for wealth and sounding titles,



in fact, all their characteristics, mark them as the work of one man. The three seem to be by a single plagiarist who had read extensively in historical and geographical lore, who indulged in fantastic descriptions of the Holy Land, of Persia, India and Tartary, who adorned them with accounts of monstrous men and beasts drawn from Vincent de Beauvais' *Mirror of Nature*, and who mixed and disguised his borrowings with shameless audacity. It is beyond doubt that they were composed at Liège during the same period. Is it at all likely that two literary twin-brothers and forgers were busy side by side in that small Episcopal city? One argument against single authorship is the great aggregate bulk of those writings, which may be thought to lie beyond the power of a man who had to attend to his duties as an officer of the law courts. But the very uniformity of his sources and of his matter made it possible to use the same materials over and over again. A glance at the notes in the present volume will show how often one passage in the *Mandeville* duplicates another. On perusing the trilogy, and the *Mirror of Histories*, numberless cases of such duplication will occur. Let us single out two, which bear on d'Outremeuse's attitude to science and religion. On p. 122 of the *Travels*, a voyage of circumnavigation is described in which a man reaches his own country after going all round the world. Similarly, in the fourteenth-century Crusading epic, a party starting from Jerusalem reaches another forest of Ardennes and another castle of Bouillon at the other end of the earth (see note).

The almsgiving to beasts of p. 137 of the *Travels* is also alluded to in the epic. Here the Christians are blamed by a Saracen for giving to the poor the remnants of food that ought to be kept for dogs, and the abbot Gerard of St. Trond justifies the Christian practice.

Such examples show that, in many respects, the epic, the *Travels* and the *Mirror* are one, and we cannot but believe them to be by one hand.

### III

#### POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRAVELS

THE dedication of the *Travels* to Edward III. does not occur in any English text or in all the French ones. We print it from

Warner, p. xxix. It is also to be found in the *editio princeps* of the *Travels* (1725), p. 385, and in Halliwell's reprint of 1866, p. xi: Principi excellentissimo, pre cunctis mortalibus precipue venerando Domino Edwardo, Divina Providentia Francorum et Anglorum regi serenissimo, Hibernie Domino, Aquitanie Duci, Mari ac ejus insulis occidentalibus dominanti, christianorum eufamie et ornatui, universorumque arma gerentium tutori, ac probitatis et strenuitatis exemplo; principi quoque invicto, mirabilis Alexandri sequaci, ac universo orbi tremendo; cum reverentia, non qua decet (cum ad talem et tantam reverentiam minus sufficientes exstiterint) sed qua parvitas et possibilitas mittentis et offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.—To the most excellent prince, to be chiefly revered above all mortals, to the Lord Edward, by Divine Providence most serene king of France and England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, ruler of the sea and of its Western Islands, credit and ornament of Christendom, patron of all men at arms and pattern of probity and strength, also to the unconquered prince, follower of the wonderful Alexander, to be feared by the universe, the contents of this book are offered, not with fit reverence, for they would prove inadequate for such a great and noble object, but so far as the insignificance and power of the sender and dedicator extend.

Sir G. Warner regards this as an interpolation, because it does not appear in the best manuscripts. To us it seems genuine, implicitly putting the King above his enemy the Pope ("above all mortals"), praising the world-conqueror Alexander, often mentioned in the *Travels*, and admitting the frivolous character of the book itself. It should be noted that the writer does not claim to have travelled or to be a subject of the English or French crown. Liège was an Imperial fief. If d'Outremeuse wrote this, he was no doubt paid for it.

The date when the *Mandeville* was finished cannot be later than 1371, as a manuscript bearing that date is said to be extant in Paris. If we accept the dedication as genuine, the year 1366, when King Edward repudiated the Pope's supremacy over the realm, is a probable one. It comes soon after 1362, for which see note to p. 146, l. 26. The reference to the peace of Brétigny (1360) in the *Itinerarius* would put it still further back. In 1366, Jean d'Outremeuse was twenty-eight years old, and Sir John Mandeville still had six years to live. If the *Travels* were part



of an anti-Papal campaign of popular agitation, they would be turned into English almost at once, for the Wycliffites knew the importance of addressing the people in their mother tongue. The choice of an English name for the imaginary protagonist of the *Travels*, and even the choice of an author of Liège for supporting the English policy against the Pontifical See, would be easily accounted for. Was not Jean le Bel, the chronicler and servant of Edward in his wars, a native of the Principality of Liège, and was he not one of the models and sources for d'Outremeuse's, as for Froissart's chronicles?

Our theory, first put forward in the *Quarterly Review* (April 1917), that the *Travels* are an anti-Papal pamphlet in disguise, rests primarily upon the allusions to the Papacy, eleven in number, contained in the text. Some of these do not allow of any definite conclusions, such as the four comparisons between the Pontifical dignity and various heads of other churches, the Patriarch of Constantinople (p. 11, l. 25), the Caliph of Muhammadans (p. 27, l. 10), the Patriarch of St. Thomas in India (p. 184, l. 21), and the Lobassy or Grand Lama of Tibet (p. 205, l. 17). Others hint, without open blame, that the popes have altered the rites of the Early Church: auricular confession is described as an invention of the Holy Fathers (p. 80, l. 16 and note), and they are said to have added to the text of the mass (p. 200, l. 3). The report that Athanasius was put in prison by a pope for composing his creed (p. 96, l. 27) can hardly be interpreted as complimentary to the Roman See. Much more aggressive than this is the passage about the quarrel between Pope John the XXII<sup>nd</sup> and the Greeks (pp. 11-12). Accusations of pride and avarice are levelled against John, and the letter of defiance addressed to him is worthy of the Wycliffites. An open charge of simony is levelled at the Pontiff himself in the sentence: For now is Simon king crowned in Holy Church (p. 12, ll. 21-22, and see note). Slyer, though no less impudent, is the claim that the mendacious *Travels* have been "affirmed and proved" by Our Holy Father (p. 210, l. 17). The eleventh and last instance is open to dispute and a matter of hypothesis. A prophet is credited with the pronouncement that "Out of Babylon shall come a worm that shall devour all the world" (p. 73, l. 20). As no such sentence has been traced in the prophetic books of the Bible, we may suspect a Wycliffite war-cry against the world-power of the New Babylon or Rome.

Other allusions to religious matters, to the various sects of Christianity, to the beliefs of Jews, Muhammadans and heathens of various lands, must be read in the light of the statements discussed above, always remembering that the propagandist prefers innuendo to direct statements, and that it was a dangerous thing to defy the power of the Church barefaced. It is not impossible that the account of Buddhist almsgiving to beasts (p. 137, ll. 5-36, and note) hides a satire on the doctrine of Purgatory and on the sale of indulgences. That certain savages delight to drink human blood and call it dieu (*i. e.* god, p. 129, l. 26) may or may not be a satire against the dogma of transubstantiation. Many similar cases are discussed in the notes. On the whole, they bear out the interpretation of the book as a more or less veiled libel against the Roman Church.

## IV

## THE TEXTS

A FULL enumeration of the manuscripts of the French original text of the *Travels*, listed by J. Vogels, will be found in Roehricht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, 1890. No critical edition is in existence. A reprint from two MSS. in the British Museum (Harley 4383 and Royal 20 B. x), with variants from others, is accessible in the Roxburgh Club edition. A modernised French text, cut down to about one-fifth of the original, is to be found in Bergeron : *Recueil des Voyages*, The Hague, 1735.

Dr. Vogels has proved the existence of two independent English translations of the *Travels*, testifying to their wide popularity in the country of John Wycliffe. Of these translations one, preserved in two MSS. (E. Museo 116 and Rawlinson D. 99 in the Bodleian), is called by him E.L. = Englisch Lateinisch or Anglo-Latin, as it is from a Latin version, and the other, E.F. = Anglo-French, is from the French original. The variations between several copies of the latter are so striking that they were long believed to be by several Englishers. But the method applied by Dr. Vogels seems incontrovertible. He assumes that no man is likely to mistranslate what has already been correctly interpreted. One convincing example occurs on p. 56, ll. 27-28. D'Outremeuse there describes the signs of the Zodiac as "signes du ciel," signs of the sky. The



Englischer misread "cygnes," swans, and wrote "Swannes of heuene." That this blunder arose from the French is undeniable. No reviser or corrector could possibly have introduced it. It not only bears the stamp of an original translator, but of one who distinguished himself by his ignorance and stupidity. Another example is that on p. 72, l. 3. D'Outremeuse wrote about *nonains cordelières*, i.e. Franciscan nuns. The Englischer misread the c. as the numeral 100 and wrote "Nonnes of an hundred ordres." By these two examples the capacity of the original Englischer may be gauged. It is not surprising that his blunders should have invited emendation, and that more sensible and more cultivated scribes should have confronted his work with one of the many French copies and removed the worst faults. But the modern editor does not go to the *Mandeville* for accurate information; he wants the text as it came from the earliest translator's hand, testifying to the state of mind of the anonymous individual who first turned it into English, and to the wants and shortcomings of his fourteenth-century readers. Therefore he prefers the imperfect Cotton Titus c. XVI. version to the more correct Egerton 1982 printed by Sir G. Warner. For *signes du ciel*, the Egerton has : *signez of þe firmament*; the *nonains cordelières* it simply omits.

Sir G. Warner chose the Egerton MS. for three reasons:—  
1. the Egerton was still unprinted, while the Cotton was accessible in the 1725 edition and in several reprints from that, *e.g.* Halliwell's (London. F. S. Ellis, 1866). 2. It is in a more Northern dialect, and therefore interesting to the philologist. 3. Its mistakes are fewer.—The former two reasons have lost their importance, since Sir G. Warner's edition is in print. The last is not convincing after Dr. Vogels has proved that the Egerton version is a composite one, accepting the main body of the text from Cotton, with minor variations, and filling a large gap (corresponding to p. 22, l. 3 to p. 41, l. 21 of the present edition) from the Anglo-Latin version discovered by Vogels. Cotton, then, although it has lost a few pages (our pp. 212–217), remains the only practically complete and consistent, as well as the most original text. An earlier pedigree of the various English texts, constructed by Dr. Nicholson and accepted by Sir G. Warner, is thus proved to have no foundation in fact.

We are then compelled to agree to the strange principle that the test of authenticity lies not in the correctness but in the very



excess of the blundering, for a demonstrably and intentionally misleading French original by the arch-romancer d'Outremeuse has been Englished by an ignorant and careless translator. Wherever the present editor felt tempted to correct the Cotton manuscript, he either found, on comparing with the two Brussels manuscripts and with the printed Harley text, that d'Outremeuse himself was responsible for the misstatement, or that the translator had erred through incompetence. Very few errors, pointed out in the notes, may be due to the copyist or copyists who intervened between the original and the Cotton MS. Even here, there can be no certainty, as the Englisher was quite capable of any lapse of spelling and grammar, in addition to the many fantastic mistranslations that are undoubtedly his own. A difficult problem is raised by the cases of words correctly rendered in one passage and misinterpreted in another. Can we believe that the same man knew the meaning of a French word one day and forgot it on the morrow? Other explanations are more probable. 1. His French manuscript might be faulty, as in the confusion of *signes* with *cygnes* or in that of *cordeleres* and *c. ordres*. 2. The context might help in one case, and hinder in another. 3. His slovenliness is so obvious, that it suffices to account for doubtful examples. For all these reasons, the task of the would-be improver is a hopeless one, and we had to confine ourselves to honestly supplying readers with the original data and to banish the fruits of our own wisdom to the notes. In this we took warning by the example of the learned Scheler, who closes his commentary on the *Bâtard de Bouillon* with a sigh of regret at having too much normalised his text. No variants could be printed in the footnotes because the difference between the English MSS. is too great. The list of those MSS. has twice been printed by Dr. Vogels: once in his paper of 1891, and once in Roehricht. I have only seen those in London, Oxford and Cambridge.

As the first duty of a student who undertakes to edit a translation is to master its original, and as only a diplomatic reprint of the Anglo-French Harley 4383, supplemented by Royal XX B.x, with variants from Sloane 1464 and Grenville XXXIX., is accessible in print, I have copied Brussels 10420-5, a text recommended by Vogels as among the best, but full of crabbed abbreviations, and I have checked it with Brussels 11141, which is inferior, but in a plain hand. The Cotton version I have found faithful to the

Anglo-French Harley text, when the Englisher did not fall a victim to his peculiar weaknesses. The mistranslations are interesting in showing how slavishly, and with what complete disregard of both the French and the English idiom, the work has been done.

In Sir G. Warner's description of the Cotton MS. we have nothing to alter: "It is a small quarto measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by 6 inches, with 132 leaves. The text is written in a neat, well-formed hand, varying somewhat in parts (more especially at folio 119) but not enough to make it certain that more than one scribe was employed. The ornamentation is very simple. There is a large initial in gold, on a red and blue ground, at the beginning, and the other initials are in blue, filled in and flourished with lines in red. The text is divided into chapters by rubricated titles, without numeration." The date conjecturally assigned to it is 1410-1420. Although not a word is illegible, some letters are so much alike as to be practically identical: so c and t, n and u (mendant may be read mendiant, cf. mendif). Even e and o are sometimes hard to distinguish. A curl after final r often means nothing: clere' = clere. The question has been raised whether a crossed H should be read ll or lle. We agree with Prof. Kern that the crossing in this case is of no phonetic or grammatical importance. It might have been altogether disregarded in copying.

## V

### THE SOURCES

THE sources of the *Mandeville* have been traced by Sir G. Warner and Dr. Bovenschen, until all but a few pages have been proved to be stolen from some older book, and until all probability of the author having seen with his own eyes and described from his own experience has disappeared. It seems, then, as if nothing were left for following commentators to do but to repeat what has been said before them. This is not so. In their zeal for unmasking the plagiarist and in the fulness of their learning those two scholars have not been content to measure the extent of their author's reading. They have pursued many of the traditions collected by him to their remote origins in classical and Jewish antiquity, thus attributing to him a wider and more solid erudition than he



possessed. On the other hand, they have taken too little account of his familiarity with romances in the vernacular, especially those about the Crusades and about Alexander the Great. Finally, they have insufficiently stressed the use made by him of Vincent of Beauvais's encyclopaedia, both of natural philosophy (*Speculum Naturale*) and of history (*Speculum Historiale*). None of the three principal sources of the *Travels*, William of Boldensele's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Friar Odoric de Pordenone's travels to Palestine and to the Far East, William of Tripoli's account of the Saracens (*De Statu Saracenorum*), is included in Vincent, but most of the other books, historical and scientific, plundered for the *Mandeville*, have been excerpted by him. Where the commentators refer to Pliny, to Solinus, to Isidor of Seville, to Honorius' *Imago Mundi*, it is certain that d'Outremeuse never went beyond what he learned at school or could read in his encyclopaedia. If we fail to identify the exact wording of the passage in Vincent, we may assume that d'Outremeuse took liberties with his model or that he used a copy somewhat different from our present printed editions. The names of Vincent's authorities he found carefully noted in each chapter. The fabulous history of Alexander, *e.g.*, is told in the *Mirror Historial*, Book IV. The *Historia Alexandri*, Justinus, Valerius, Quintus Curtius, Martianus, Orosius, the *Epistle of Alexander*, Seneca, the correspondence between Alexander and Didimus, are quoted in turn. This enabled d'Outremeuse to refer glibly to them all.

It is no less certain that, as a reader and writer of Gestes or romances, he knew some verse epics in Middle French, probably the *Alexander* edited by Michelant. It is nearly impossible for a modern commentator, provided with recent printed editions, to ascertain what particular versions of the legend, vernacular or Latin, in verse or in prose, d'Outremeuse may have followed besides his Vincent. When he departs from all known authorities, Dr. Bovenschen is inclined to surmise "oral tradition," and Sir G. Warner hesitates between lost sources and the author's invention. Now that we are acquainted with d'Outremeuse's vagaries, there is little doubt that the latter view is the correct one. Lost authorities are very unlikely to have escaped the minute and protracted search of a number of competent students. As for oral tradition, which is gradually losing its hold on the faith of scholars, there is no reason to postulate it at all. Judging from d'Outremeuse's known



methods, we must suppose the written sources as few as possible. Eugesippus-Fretellus's description of the Holy Places (*De Locis Sanctis*), John de Plano-Carpino on the Tartars (Book XXXI. of the *Mirror Historial*), are incorporated in Vincent. Extracts from other works must have been obtained in the Latin original. As has already been pointed out by Sir G. Warner (p. xl of his Introduction), all the sources of the *Travels*, except Boldensele and Odoric, occur in the list of authorities for d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* (p. xcix of the Introduction to it).

## VI

### THE ALPHABETS

OUR Cotton MS. contains four alphabets: one at the close of Chap. III., called Greek (p. 13); another at the close of Chap. VII., called Egyptian (p. 34); a third at the close of Chap. XIII. called Jewish (p. 73); and a fourth at the close of Chap. XVI., called Saracen (p. 92). A so-called Persian alphabet, missing in the Cotton MS. (p. 100), is inserted in the corresponding place in the Egerton MS. Facing p. 442 of Cordier's edition of Odoric is the facsimile of an "alphabet fantaisiste de la langue de Pentheuxoire," from a *Mandeville*, whether printed or manuscript, French or Latin, M. Cordier does not say.

Sir G. Warner's comments are that (1) the Greek alphabet offers peculiar forms; (2) the so-called Egyptian is corrupt past recognition; (3) the so-called Hebrew is also corrupt; (4) the so-called Saracen is not Arabic, but has strong affinities with the Slavonic alphabet known as the Glagolitic, and is found in the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus. (References to: H. Wuttke, *Die Kosmographie des Istrier Aithicos*, etc., Leipzig, 1854, p. 85; Pertz, *De Cosmographia Ethici libri tres*, Berlin, 1853, pp. 150-184, and plate, p. 199.) (5) The so-called Persian cannot be identified, but is given by J. G. Eccard, *De origine Germanorum libri duo*, 1750, pl. IV., p. 192, from an unspecified MS. at Ratisbon. It there professes to be Chaldaic. This MS. contains six other alphabets, including the so-called Egyptian of *Mandeville*.—So far Sir G. Warner.

The whole problem is one that cannot be solved without comparing and classifying many facsimiles and photographs, an enterprise not easily achieved in the year of Our Lord 1920. Therefore

we here confine ourselves to stating its existence, and to asking some questions. Had d'Outremeuse any reason for collecting and reproducing all these alphabets? Why did the copyists and buyers of the *Travels* go to the trouble and expense of drawing and purchasing them? Was it on account of the connection between the Glagolitic alphabet, *e.g.*, and the Medieval heresies popularly traced to the East, and especially to the Bulgarians? Was it because the legend of Prester John of Pentexoire, as stated by Cordier (p. 440), served as a vehicle for allusions to contemporary politics and religion, as in the pamphlet from which a facsimile is reproduced in his *Odoric* (p. 441)? In brief, have the alphabets any bearing on the anti-Papal character of the *Mandeville*? One practical object of keeping half a dozen of them bound together in one volume might be to facilitate secret correspondence, as a common form of cypher in the Middle Ages was the mixing of various alphabets in the same text (Al. Meister, *Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift*, 1902, p. 18). The objection to this hypothesis is that, if such documents had been in use, at least a few of them ought to have survived, to come under the notice of keepers of records and manuscripts. So far nothing seems to have been heard about them. Still the question remains, whether sympathisers with the *Mandeville's* heterodox views did not use its alphabets for secret intercourse.



## NOTES

p. 1, l. 21.—The philosopher Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* II. 7) and Cicero (*De Offic.* I. 25) praise the mean way. Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Sackur, 1898, p. 77 : “in medio terrae vivificans confixa et consolidata est crux.” He means Calvary, not, as others do, the Compass or the Sepulchre. Ps. lxxiv. 12 : “For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.”

p. 2, l. 30. *hath whereof*.—Gallicism : has the wherewithal, the means, *a de quoi*.

p. 3, l. 8. *wolde god*.—The Anglo-French Harleian text 4383 (H.) has a cut at the Papacy, writing “Mes sîl plesoit a nostre seint piere lapostoille,” *i. e.* if it pleased our Holy Father the Pope, “qar a Dieu plerroit-il bien,” for it would well please God, that the lords were in agreement, etc.

p. 3, l. 14.—A general passage is a Crusade.

p. 3, l. 26. *Inde the lasse t the more*.—H. also mentions middle India, *la moiene*.

p. 4, l. 1. *I haue*.—H. : *ieusse cest escript mis en latyn, i. e.* “I should have written this book in Latin in order to be briefer. But, as many understand French better than Latin, I wrote it in French.” That the original text is the French we may accept as true. The Englisher probably did not understand the meaning of the conditional. He also altered the sense to suit his purpose. Hence the later belief that the same author wrote the same book in three different languages !

p. 4, l. 10. *mynde of man ne may not ben comprehended*.—Mistranslation. H. rightly has : “*memorie de homme ne puet mye tot retenir ne comprendre*.” Man’s memory cannot remember or understand everything.

p. 4, l. 12.—Apart from the hit at the Papacy, the prologue is a string of commonplaces from the literature of the Crusades, utterly hollow, and perhaps ironical. The land of promise was a common theme for parody. See Pöschel, *Das Schlaraffenland*, P.B.B. 1878, p. 420.

p. 4, l. 14. *ouer the see*.—The text is corrupt, through a gap. H. : *par plusours chemyns il puet aler, par meer et par terre, solonc les parties dont il mouera, dont luy plusours tournent tot a vn fyn.*

Halliwell, 1867: to go to the City of Jerusalem, he may go by many Weyes, bothe on See and Lande, afre the Countree that he cometh fro: manye of hem comen to on ende.

p. 4, l. 20. *3if a man come from the west*.—Si quis ab occidentilibus partibus. The *incipit* of the Pilgrim's Text known as *Innominatus*, published by Tobler, 1865. See Comte Riant, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pub. Société de l'Orient Latin, série géographique, III. 1882.

p. 4, l. 23. *hungarye*.—The route followed by Peter the Hermit and by the First Crusade, as described in Albert d'Aix, in William of Tyre and in the Crusading epics, one of which, the *Chanson de Godefroi de Bouillon*, is the work of a *trouvère* of Liège, living in the late fourteenth century, perhaps Jean d'Outremeuse himself. See preface, p. 12.

p. 4, l. 29. *Bougiers*.—H.: des Bougres, the Medieval French name of the Bulgarians.

Ibid. *Roussye*.—Interpreted by Sir G. Warner as Red Russia, *i. e.* Halicz or Galicia, long in dispute between Hungary and Poland.

p. 4, l. 31. *Niflan*, Livonia.

p. 4, l. 33. *Cypron*: in Hungarian Soprony, in German Ödenburg.

Ibid. *Neiseburgh*.—Warner: "The place is no doubt the 'praesidium Meseburch' of Albert of Aix, I. 23 (p. 290), and the 'Meeszburg' of William of Tyre, I. 29 (*Recueil*, I. p. 67). This was situated on the Lintax or Leytha, and is now known as Wieselburg (Moszon, Hungarian). . . . Its position north-east of Ödenburg, and so out of the road to Belgrade, is additional evidence that Mandeville had no personal acquaintance with the route."

p. 4, l. 33. *euyll town*.—An entertaining translation of the French name of Maleville, Latin Malavilla, *i. e.* Semlin, opposite Belgrade. Sir G. Warner refers to *Alb. Aq.* I. 6 (p. 274) and II. 6 (p. 303). Walter the Pennyless crossed the Save at Malavilla, not the Danube, as Mandeville suggests on p. 5, l. 2.

p. 5, l. 3. *goth in to Almayne*.—H.: naist en Alemaigne, rises in Germany, which is correct. Vogels (1886), p. 13, has traced this mistranslation to a misreading of *u* for *n*: vaist (vait, vadit, va) for naist.

p. 5, l. 11. *Marrok*.—C. J. Jirecek, *Die Heerstrasse*, etc., 1877, p. 99, states that the stone bridge crossing the river Marica at Cirmen is one of the few facts correctly mentioned by Mandeville,



the master of lies ! Warner : " This reads like a confused reminiscence of *Alb. Aq.* I. 8 (p. 278), from which it appears that the ' lapideus pons ' was not over the Morava, the right bank of which was reached by the Crusaders in boats, but over its tributary the Nissava, in front of the city of Nizh (the Ny of the French text and C.), now Nish."

p. 5, l. 18. *covered with gold*.—MS. Brussels, 10420-5 : de coyvre doreis, *i. e.* of copper gilt. Boldensele : de aere . . . tota deaurata (1855, p. 30). The mistranslation is ingenious. On the statue, which stood from 543 to 1550, Sir G. Warner refers to Zonaras (XIV. 6), to Procopius (*De Aedificiis*, I. 2), to Nicephorus Gregoras (*Hist. Byzant.* VII. 12, 4). The cross on the orb was blown down in 1317. Boldensele and Bondelmonti (*Liber insularum Archipelagi*, ed. 1824, p. 122) saw the apple in its place. John of Hildesheim, 1878, p. 24, also describes the statue as holding its orb and threatening the Saracens in the East with its right hand. According to Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* I. 1883, p. 581, Turpin's chronicle describes a gigantic idol of bronze or copper (*auricalco operuta*) erected by Mahomet upon a seaside rock at Cadiz. In its right hand it holds a key, which will slip out of it whenever the king shall be born in France who is destined to restore Christianity throughout Spain. Mandeville's account is evidently coloured by romances of that type.

p. 5, l. 20. *appell of gold*.—B. 10420-5 : doreis, *i. e.* gilt, a word obviously beyond the Englisher's linguistic capacity.

p. 5, l. 27. *lond he holt*.—B. 10420-25 : le paijs qui se tient, *i. e.* the dependencies of Greece. Mistranslation.

p. 6, l. 2. *Tunica*.—Boldensele, 1855, p. 31 : " In hac sacra urbe vidi ex mandato domini imperatoris magnam partem crucis dominicae, tunicam Domini inconsutilem, item spongiam, calamum et unum clavum Domini corpusque beati Johannis Crysostomi et plures alias sanctorum reliquias venerandas." Mandeville omits the saints and adds the crown and spear-head dear to the romances.

p. 6, l. 7. *Cipres*.—Boldensele (p. 33) saw the relic in Cyprus.

p. 6, l. 14. *In cruce fit palma*.—Isaiah lx. 13 : " The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary ; and I will make the place of my feet glorious." Sir G. Warner : " In the Septuagint, however, they are the cypress, the pine and the cedar (S. Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam* ; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXIV. 594).

. . . Bede adds box as the wood on which the title was written, the main upright being of cypress, the crossbeam of cedar, and the upright above it of pine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XCIV. 555). Mandeville's enumeration agrees with that of Jac. de Voragine (*Legenda Aurea*, 1846, p. 303), who quotes the monostich 'Ligna crucis palma, cedrus, cupressus, oliva;' and his distribution of the materials follows the traditional lines (Gretser, *De Cruce*, 1734, I. p. 7) :

'Quatuor ex lignis Domini crux dicitur esse.  
Pes crucis est cedrus; corpus tenet alta cupressus;  
Palma manus retinet; titulo laetatur oliva.' "

The palm-branch was carried as a sign of victory by winners in the Olympic games, but it appears as a piece of Christian symbolism in a Palm Sunday sermon in the *Blickling Homilies*: "þa hæron hie him [*i. e.* to Christ] toþeanes blowende palmtwizu; forþon þe hit waes Iudisc þeaw, þonne heora cininþas hæfdon size 3eworht on heora feondum, t hie waeron eft ham hweorfende, þonne eodan hie him toþeanes mid blowendum palmtwizum, heora sizes to wyorþmyndum" (quoted by A. V. Vincenti, on *Solomon and Saturn*, 1904, p. 59). Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.* 1624, l. 13, c. 31, col. 968, refers to the Song of Songs, vii. 8: "I said, I will go up to the palm tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof."

p. 6, l. 25. *as the cros.*—H.: tant come le corps purroit durer. Mistranslation.

p. 6, l. 33. *on was ouercomen.*—H.: ascun auoit victorie, which means the opposite.

p. 7, l. 7. *discord t strif.*—H.: descord only.

p. 7, l. 9. *ynaylled on the cros lyggynge.*—Mistranslation through omission. H.: Et sachez qe nostre Seignur fuist atachez a la croiz en gisant par terre et puis fuist dressez ouesque la croiz et ensi en dressant il soffry la pluis grande peine.

p. 7, l. 14. *seyth þat Adam was seek.*—Mistranslation. H.: Et dit cest escript qe quant Adam estoit malades, il dit a son filz Seth, etc.

p. 7, l. 23. *vnder his tonge t graue him.*—H.: en la bouche son pierre et, quant larbre cresseroit et porteroit fruit, adonques serroit son pierre garry, *i. e.* the angel told Seth to put the seeds in his father's mouth, and that, when the tree would grow and bear fruit, then his father would be cured. The Englisher misinterprets the grammar and misses the point of the story.



p. 7, l. 24. .*iiij. greynes.*—Three seeds then produce four trees. This characteristic piece of levity also occurs in Jean d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories*, I. 1864, p. 320, where the story-teller clumsily attempts to mend his blunder by pretending that pine is otherwise called olive. Bovenschen (p. 213) traces Mandeville's version to two sources: the 68th chapter of the *Golden Legend*, for the four kinds of wood; another legend, printed by Wilhelm Meyer (*Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der Kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Vol. XVI., 2nd part), for the three seeds. D'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* darkly hints at an esoteric doctrine of an antediluvian book of Seth: "doctrine sens libre de l'escripture Seth de son doit" (I. 1864, p. 321). The spot in the middle of the earth where Adam's skull lies buried, with the trees growing out of his mouth is Golgotha, called τὸ κρανίον by the Byzantines (E. Sackur: *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, 1898, p. 43). The romance of the Saint Graal, summarised by P. Paris in *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, I. (1868), pp. 228–236, says that a slip from the Tree of Knowledge, planted by Eve, was white before the conception of Abel, then green, and turned red after the killing of Abel. Three trees survive: the Tree of Death, the Tree of Life, the Tree of Help and Comfort. They bleed when cut with carpenters' axes. For the whole Legend of the Cross, Sir G. Warner refers to A. Mussafia, *Legenda del legno della croce*, in *Sitzungsber. Kaiserl. Akad. Wiens* (Vol. LXIII. 1870, p. 165), and to R. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, 1871. Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandlungen*, as above, Vols. XIV. and XVI., is the principal authority.

p. 8, l. 4. † *gat . . . of Englund.*—Missing in the French original.

p. 8, l. 8. *crowne of oure lord.*—The Brussels MS. 10420–5 says that part of the crown, one nail and the spear-head are at Constantinople, while other relics are in France in the King's Chapel. Mandeville therefore confused the relics seen by Boldensele in the East (nail) with those of the Crusading epics. According to L. Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises*, 2nd ed., Vol. III. (1880), pp. 308–315, Charlemagne on his passage to Jerusalem is reported to have obtained the crown, the nail, the chalice of the Last Supper, and drops of Our Lady's Milk, which he took to the altar of St. Denis. The Tunic and Spear Head appear in the version of the *Chevalier au Cygne*, published by Reiffenberg (P. Paris in Vol. XXV. of *Histoire Littéraire*). The Spear Head holds an



important place in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris, 1848, p. 165, etc. It is carried before the host to secure victory. Fierabras begins with a description of the relics of the Passion. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the Spear Head is described as set in the hilt of Joyeuse, Charlemagne's sword (Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I. (1908), p. 63). A piece of the True Cross is given to William of Orange (*ibid.*, p. 113). A relic of the Cross worn round the neck by Charlemagne is now the property of the Cathedral of Reims (*Le Temps*, Oct. 2, 1920).

p. 8, l. 11. *kynges Chapell*.—The romances took the relics to the Imperial church in Aix la Chapelle. Mandeville cheerfully confuses this with the Sainte-Chapelle still extant in Paris, built from 1245 by King Saint Louis to hold the Cross and Crown sent to him from Constantinople by Jean de Brienne and by his successor Baldwin.

p. 8, l. 13. *Jewes*.—Brussels MS. : genevois, *i. e.* Genoese. St. Louis redeemed the relics from the Venetians and Templars, who held them in pawn, not from the Genoese, still less from the Jews, whose name comes in through a characteristic blunder of the Englisher. Sir G. Warner refers to Count Riant's *Exuviae sacrae Constant.*, 1877-8.

p. 8, l. 14. *for a gret summe of syluer*.—H.: pur grant bosoigne dargent, *i. e.* because he was very short of money. Three mistranslations in four words.

p. 8, l. 16. *jonkes of the see*.—Sir G. Warner quotes Durandus (*ob.* 1333), "Et scias quod corona fuit de juncis marinis, sicut eam vidimus in thesauris regis Francorum, quorum acies non minus spinis durae sunt et acutae" (*Rationale*, VI. 77, ed. 1565, f. 344 b.). As no source is given for the three kinds of thorn used in the Passion, we may suspect that the author of *Mandeville* invented them in imitation of the three or four kinds of wood in the Cross.

p. 8, l. 24. *zouen to me*.—A brazen lie: neither d'Outremeuse nor Mandeville is likely ever to have owned such a valuable possession.

p. 8, l. 37. *ne in the hows pat it is jnne*.—Double mistranslation. H.: Qar, qi porte vne branche sur luy, il nad garde de foudre ne de tonnoire ne de tempeste, ne la maison ou il est dedeins. Nul malueis esprit ne puet approcher en lieu ou il soit, *i. e.*: For whoever wears a twig about him need fear neither lightning nor thunder nor storm, nor the house that he is in. No evil spirit



may come near the spot where he is. On this superstition Sir G. Warner quotes Ovid (*Fasti*, VI. 129) :

“Sic fatus, spinam, qua tristes pellere posset  
A foribus noxas (haec erat alba), dedit.”

p. 9, l. 7. *Barbarynes*: barberry.—Sir G. Warner refers to Folkard (*Plant-lore*, 1884, p. 243) for the statement that in Italy the Crown was believed to be barberry, the spines of which grows in sets of three.

p. 9, l. 8. *vertues*.—Brussels adds: et si faitomz de bon vergus dez fuilhes, *i. e.* and good verjuice is made from the leaves, a typical piece of cynicism.

p. 9, l. 20. *Emperour of Almayne*.—Elster (*Kritik des Lohengrin*, P. B. B. Vol. X., 1885, p. 91) refers to Rückert's *Lohengrin* for the tradition that the Spear was obtained from the King of Burgundy by the Emperor Henry.

p. 9, l. 24.—The beginning of ch. iii. is from Boldensele; the mention of the transfer of St. Anna introduced from another passage of Boldensele. See duplicate, p. 58, l. 25.

p. 9, l. 31. *Enydros*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.* (1624), l. 8, c. 70, quotes Isidor: the stone enydros sweats out so much water that a fountain seems hidden in it. The sober Boldensele knew how moisture will ooze out of certain porous stones under the influence of the temperature; Mandeville suppresses his scientific and sensible explanation and prefers the incredible. According to Mousket, the stone ran with oil, which is still better:

“Alueques si est li vasciaus  
Mervillous et rices et biaux  
Que nous apielons ydria.  
Et saciés de fit qu'il i a  
D'olie d'olive adics assés  
Ia tant n'en prendra on son sés  
En cel vasciel l'Arcedeclein  
Fist Dieux servir d'aige fait vin.”

(*Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, 1882, p. 119.)

See Raym. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, Vol. II., 1901, p. 138.

p. 9, l. 33. *take fro withjnnne*.—H: sanz ceo qe lem mette riens dedeins, *i. e.* without any more water being added inside. Mis-translation.

p. 10, l. 14. *Turcople*, etc.—Alb. Aqu. 1879, l. 4, c. 40, p. 417,

Turcopoli, Pincenarii, Comanitae figure in the Greek Emperor's army.

p. 10, l. 19. *grete festes*.—The Aristotelia, mentioned by the biographer Ammonius.

p. 10, l. 28.—*Athos*, placed in the isle of Lemnos in line 11, now reappears on the Continent. What Mandeville here reports about Mount Athos is referred to Olympus in his source Vincent de Beauvais (1524, l. VI., c. xxi., col. 383): "Isidor.—Athos mons Macedoniae, et ipse altior nubibus: tantoque sublimis, ut in Lemno umbram eius pertendat, quae ab eo septuaginta sex milibus separatur. . . . Comestor.—Olympus usque ad liquidum aera evadit, super quem literae inscriptae in pulvere per annum inventae sunt illaesae, et stetisse immobiles, ubi prae nimia aeris raritate nec etiam aves vivere possunt nec philosophi ascendentes absque spongiis plenis aqua aliquantum ibi manere poterunt, quas naribus apponentes crassiorem inde aerem attrahebant."—Mandeville's concrete, individual narrative is a great improvement on Vincent.

p. 10, l. 34. *for to haue eyr*.—H: aier moiste, *i. e.* wet air.

p. 11, l. 5. *place for justynges*: the Hippodrome or Atmeidan.

p. 11, l. 21. *hermogene*.—The French original rightly reads Hermes, *i. e.* Hermes Trismegistus, a legendary sage, after whom the Hermetic or magical philosophy has been named. Roger Bacon, *Metaphysica* (ed. R. Steele, p. 8), states that from primeval times he prophesied the Virgin birth of Jesus. The legend of the discovery of the prophecy occurs in the *Golden Legend, Historia lombardica*, and in the *Metaphysica*: "In historiis legimus quod sub Hirene et Constantino Imperatoribus effossum fuit cadaver cum scriptura ista: Credo in Christum, sub Hirene et Constantino iterum me videbit sol" (ed. Steele, pp. 41–42). That the name of Hermes was in the Middle Ages connected with the heretical view that various religions or laws were equally legitimate appears from Guillaume de Tignonville's *Dits d'Aristote*, which belong, like Mandeville, to the fourteenth century: "Hermès . . . né en Égypte . . . devant le grand déluge . . . établit à tout le peuple de chacun climat loi pertinente et convenable à leurs opinions . . . les contrainst à garder la loi de Dieu, à dire vérité, à dépriser le monde, à garder justice et à acquérir leur sauvement en l'autre monde" (p. xx. of Leroux de Lincy's *Proverbes français*, Vol. I., 1859). That some pagans might foresee the coming of Christ was supported with Matt. xx. 30: they heard that Jesus passed by.

p. 11, l. 28. *Pope John the xxij*.—A Pope of Avignon, who



greatly increased the treasury of the Church. Edward III., to whom the *Travels of Mandeville* are dedicated, protected the Wycliffites, who leaned on the example of the Greek Church in their repudiation of the claims of Rome. The fictitious Greek letter of defiance is similar to epistles exchanged between Alexander and Darius in Valerius (ed. Kübler, 1888, pp. 47–48), and to fictitious correspondence published by Wattenbach: “Fausse correspondance du sultan avec Clément V.” (*Archives de l'Orient latin*, t. II., 1884, p. 297). It reappears in the anti-Romish *Beehive* of Marnix de Ste Aldegonde (p. 4 b of G. Gilpin's English translation, 1636). See our own note on p. 3, l. 8. Sir G. Warner: “Much of what is here said of the religious tenets and usages of the Greeks is to be found in J. de Vitry, *Hist. Hierosol.* (ed. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1611, pp. 1089–1091).” John XXII. was the Pope in the explorer Odoric's time.

p. 12, l. 6. *therf bred.*—Unleavened bread. Mistranslation: the French text states that the Greeks use fermented bread for the sacrament.

p. 12, l. 11. *on vnxioun.*—H.: Et si ne font qe vne envnction en baptisme, et ne font point darrein vnxioun as malades.

p. 12, l. 22. *Simonye.*—H.: Qar au iour de huy est Simon roi coronnez en seinte esglise. The Englisher wipes out the satirical allusion to the Pope, here identified with Simon Magus himself. Simonia, being feminine, would be queen, not king!

p. 12, l. 26. *but it be cristemass euen.*—Agrees with H. Brussels has the opposite: et fuist la vigiel, even it were Christmas or Easter eve.

p. 12, l. 34. *of oure lord.*—H. adds: et cils qi les font raser le font pur estre pluis pleisantz a monde et as femmes, a touch characteristic of d'Outremeuse.

p. 13, l. 2. *dayes before Asschwednesday.*—H.: le sismaigne de quarresme carnem pernant, i. e. the first week in Lent, including carnival time and Ash Wednesday.

p. 13, l. 12.—D'Outremeuse's zeal for collecting rare bits of knowledge may account for his inserting four alphabets into the Mandeville. But if he wanted to propagate heterodox views they might be used as cyphers among the initiated. The insertion of Greek letters into Latin alphabets was a common device for secret correspondence in the Middle Ages (Aloys Meister: *Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift*, Paderborn, 1902). Facsimiles of Eastern alphabets used by heretics are to be found in

M. Gaster's Ilchester Lectures on *Greeko-Slavonic Literature and its relation to the folklore of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1887). Chaldaean writings and words occur in connection with occult lore in Arthurian romances (P. Paris: *Romans de la Table Ronde*, I., 1868, pp. 222, 345). Mr. R. Flower, of the MSS. department of the British Museum, kindly told me that no documents in the Mandeville cyphers were known to him.

p. 13, l. 18. *on this half*.—H.: nostre pais de cca. Les pays de par deça was a common name of the Netherlands.

p. 13, l. 24. *Nike*, Nicaea.—Chieuetout, Civitot, Lat. Cibotus is mentioned in Crusading literature:

“Passent le bras saint Jorgo a petite navie  
Le pui de Civetot qui vers le ciel ombrie,  
Qui defors Nique siet plus de liue et demie.”

(*Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Paris, 1848, I., p. 22.)

Spruner identifies it with Hersek.

p. 13, l. 29. *Sylo*.—Boldensele: “Veni ad insulam Syo [*i. e.* Scios] ubi mastix crescit, et, ut, dicunt, nusquam alibi. Gummi est fluens de arboribus parvulis, punctura certi instrumenti in cortice apertis tempore oportuno” (p. 32). Mastic is used for making cordials.

p. 14, l. 1. *Pathmos*.—Boldensele is followed, except as to St. John's age, the manna in his tomb, and the stirring of the earth (Sir G. Warner). See *Golden Legend*, c. 9.

p. 14, l. 12. *translated in to paradys*.—That the saint's body should at the same time be in heaven and shake the earth above his grave is an inconsistency thoroughly worthy of d'Outremeuse.

p. 14, l. 22. *Paterane*.—Boldensele: “Inde procedens, multis insulis hinc inde lustratis . . . perveni in ipsa minori Asia prope maris litus ad urbem Pataram, unde beatus Nicolaus traxit originem, et post ad Myram civitatem, ubi divino nutu postmodum fuit in episcopum ordinatus” (p. 33). For Myra, H. reads Marrea, hence C.'s Martha.

p. 14, l. 24. *wyn*.—Sir G. Warner thinks of the murrhina potio, *i. e.* drink out of precious cups of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XIV., 99). Poculum murrheum (Sen. E. 119).

p. 14, l. 27. *Colcos*.—Colos is given by Halliwell and Warner as the Cotton reading. The author thought of the Colossus of Rhodes and of the Colossians of St. Paul (see p. 16, ll. 17–20). Brussels rightly gives Cos, the birthplace of Hippocrates, later



called Lango. The French original makes two islands of one, on account of the two names. Sir G. Warner: "This story of the daughter of Hippocrates, the physician of Cos, may possibly have been influenced not only by the prominence of the serpent in the cult of Asclepius, of which the island was a noted centre, but by the fact that Hippocrates had a son or grandson Draco." The redeeming of an enchanted damsel by a kiss is known to Arthurian romance as *le fier baiser*, *i. e.* the hardy kiss:

" Certes, molt avroit grant honnor  
Icil qui de mal l'estordroit,  
Et qui le fier baissier feroit."

(*Li Biaus Disconeüs*, ed. G. P. Williams, 1915, p. 6.)

The hero here is Guinglain, son of Gawain. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, pp. 238-239, discusses stories of this type under the name of the Enchanted Princess. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, 1916, p. 210. Child, *English Ballads*, I., 1882, p. 306, on Kemp Owyne. In the continuation by Martin Juan de Galba of Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanch*, ch. ccccx. in the 1904 facsimile of the edition of 1490, Mandeville's tale of the Lady of Lango is faithfully translated (Martínez y Martínez: *Martín Juan de Galba, coautor de Tirant lo Blanch*, Valencia, 1916.—J. Givanel Mas: *Estudio critico de Tirant lo Blanch*, 1912, p. 117). As a possible source one may suggest the story of Perseus, who beheaded Medusa, killed a sea-monster and won a king's daughter as his reward. Hartland refers to Keats's *Lamia*, the source of which is in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

p. 15, l. 10. *whan the knyght*.—H: quant le chiual le veoit si hideux, il fuy sa voie et porta le chiualer maugree luy sur vn roche, et de celle roche il sailly en la meer, et ensi fuist perduz le chiualer.—Mistranslation; the Englisher mistook the horse, cheval, for a knight, chevalier, and thought that the knight was cast into the sea by the lady, instead of by the horse.

p. 15, l. 22. *schadewe of him in the myrour*.—Perseus saw the reflection of the Medusa's face in a mirror.

p. 16, l. 14.—If the tale of the Lady of Lango points a moral, it is against celibacy, and in agreement with p. 12, ll. 15-16.

p. 16, l. 22. *wynes*.—Boldensele, p. 33.

p. 16, l. 25. *be a place*.—H.: delez la goulf, *i. e.* beside the gulf.

p. 16, l. 26. *Cathaillye*.—Satalia in the Middle Ages, originally Attalia, now Adalia.

p. 17, l. 6. *Eddere*.—H.: teste, probably right; the head of

MANDEVILLE.

D



Medusa. Brussels, 10420-5 : bieste, possibly the origin of Cotton's adder or snake. Sir G. Warner has identified the story with the classic myth of the Gorgon's head. It is the Arthurian episode of the Laide Semblance, discussed by O. Sommer in *The Structure of the Livre d'Artus*, 1914, p. 19 : King Riom of Ireland, who holds all the earth down to the Terre des Pastures [Iceland ?] says that no man can pass beyond the latter country until the Laide Semblance is removed from the stream where it was set by Judas Maccabeus, to show that he had conquered the earth so far. . . . He who removes it will have to carry it to the Gulf of Sathenie, so that it may never be seen. For its kind is such that all who see it with their eyes must be in peril.—In the Vulgate version of the *Livre d'Artus*, ed. by O. Sommer, Vol. VIII. (1913), p. 150, a fair lady asks Artus for a knight to remove the Laide Semblance "ce est uns cors formez petit aus[s]i come uns enfes de trois anz, qui fu engendrez dun cheualier en une femme morte quil amoit par amors, et est en semblance de fame" (p. 158). Grex brings the Laide Semblance in a barrel to his lady, who has barrel and figure locked in a box of oakwood. Tempests never stop, and Arthur asks the advice of his clerks. Helias declares that the figure must be thrown back into the sea that surrounds the earth, in a place known to Merlin only. Merlin gets the box from the lady and throws it into the "go[u]ffre de Satellie." There it still lies. When it emerges and beholds ships, they all are in danger of shipwreck.—Other versions have been listed : Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Stubbs, II. 195), Roger Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, III. 158), Walter Map (ed. T. Wright, p. 176), where it is named Henno cum Dentibus (Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, p. 342). A summary is found in P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, II., 1868, p. 193. The connection with the myth of Medusa is obvious in Map : "Gorgoneum praetendit ostentum, obrigescunt miseri, vident instar Medusae malitiam." Quoted by Runeberg (*Études sur la Geste Rainouart*, 1905, p. 90), who also instances the Bataille Loquifer (tête de Desramé), and Stricker's Daniel vom blüenden Tal. (*Hist. Litt. Fr.* XXX. 136). Runeberg holds that the legend was brought from the East by the Crusaders, and passed through various stages.—E. Freymond : Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altfranzösischen Artusromane in *Prosa. Zs. f. fr. Sprache, Abhandl.*, Vol. XVII., 1895.—J. Kohler : *Der Ursprung der Melusinensage*, 1895. The fairy Melusine was the ancestress of the house of Lusignan, the royal house of Cyprus.



p. 17, l. 6. *fleigh aboute*.—Both Brussels MSS. : remira[t] la citeit, *i. e.* viewed the city and the country. H. : remua, shook. The Brussels reading seems correct, Cotton mistranslates.

p. 17, l. 7. *sank down*.—C. follows H. Brussels MSS. : la . . . bicste . . . fondit en abeemez, the Laide Semblance sank into the deep.

p. 17, l. 13. *.iiij. othere bysschoppes*.—French MSS. *iiij.*

p. 17, l. 16. *hill of the holy cros*.—Stavro Vouni, near Larnaca (Sir G. Warner).

p. 17, l. 21. *seynt zenomync*.—Sir G. Warner thinks of one Sozomenus, Bishop of Potamia, S.W. of Nicosia, mentioned in the chronicle of Machaeras (p. 43).

p. 17, l. 23. *castell of amoure*.—Bovenschen and Sir G. Warner identify this with chateau du dieu d'amour, ancient Didymus, where St. Hilarion died.

p. 17, l. 26. *with Papyouns*.—Boldensele : "in venatione cum canibus et maxime domesticis leopardis" (p. 34). In the Chétifs, an episode of the epic of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, edited by Hippeau in 1877, the wolf Papion is a beast haunting the hills of Turkey and Persia. He carries away a nephew of the Saracen king Corbaran. He also figures in the *Conquête de Jérusalem* (ed. Hippeau, 1868, Introd. p. xvii). Sir G. Warner quotes J. de Vitry (p. 1101) : "Sunt ibi papiones, quos canes silvestres appellunt, lupis acriores, continuis clamoribus de nocte ululantes," and refers to the hunting-leopard or cheetah.

p. 17, l. 30. *all opere men*.—H. : vadlet, *i. e.* varlets.

p. 17, l. 33. *syttten pere*.—H. adds : Et puis homme mette la mape del autre couste sur le pauement, *i. e.* and the cloth is laid on the other side, on the pavement. Jacques de Vitry reports that guilty Templars were sentenced "ad terram absque mappa cibum tenuem sumere" (*Hist. Orient.* 1597, p. 118). The statement in Mandeville may well be derived from this, as a joke characteristic of d'Outremeuse.

p. 18, l. 11. *Fons Ortorum*, etc.—Solomon's Song, iv. 15 : A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters and streams from Lebanon. The reservoirs now called Râs el 'Ain were traditionally connected with Solomon and with the above verse. Boldensele : "Perveniens in Syriam . . . applicui ad portum Tyri, quae nunc Sur vulgariter appellatur. Est autem Tyrus antiquissima civitas. Nobilissima et fortissima quondam fuit, nunc vero quasi destructa est. Portum vero ejus Sarraceni custodiunt diligenter. . .

Prope Tyrum est fons hortorum et puteus aquarum viventium. . . . Locus etiam ibidem ostenditur, ubi Dominus fideli Cananaeae misertus est, et prope, eo loquente ad turbas, sibi dictum est: Beatus venter, qui te portavit."—*I. e.* Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked (Luke xi. 27).

p. 18, l. 21. *And .viij. myle.*—Eugesippus, *De distantiiis locorum terrae sanctae* (ed. Allatius, 1653, p. 106): "Octo milliaria a Tyro contra orientem supra mare Sarphen, quae est Sarepta Sydoniorum. In qua quondam habitavit Helias propheta; in qua et resuscitavit filium viduae, Jonam scilicet: quem prius ipsa hospitio receperat et caritative foverat et paverat. Sex milliaria a Sarphen Sidon, civitas egregia, ex qua Dido, quae Carthaginem construxit in Africa. Sexdecim milliaria a Sidone Berytus, opulentissima civitas."—Mandeville is more likely to have had this from Vincent de Beauvais, where it is reproduced.

p. 18, l. 22. *in sarept.*—Brussels, 10420–25: sarphon ou sarepte, correct. H.: Serphen en Sarepte, which the Englisher slavishly follows.

p. 18, l. 24. *Jonas the wydwes sone.*—Jonah was traditionally identified with the widow's son revived by Elijah in 1 Kings xvii.

p. 18, l. 28. *Sayete.*—Sagitta in Vincent, the Middle French name of Sidon. Eneas and Dido would interest d'Outremeuse as heroes of romances.

p. 18, l. 36. *Joppe.*—Boldensele: ". . . urbem Joppensem vetustissimam, quam Jafet filius Noe creditur condidisse" (p. 36).

p. 19, l. 3. *Andromade.*—The fair Andromeda is here confused with the sea-monster from which Perseus saved her, through a careless reading of Vincent de Beauvais' chapter de monstris marinis: "Bestiae cui dicebatur exposita fuisse Andromeda, ossa Romae asportata se oppido Judaeae Joppe ostendit inter reliqua miracula in aedilitate sua M. Scaurus, longitudine pedum 40, altitudine costarum Indicos elephantes excedente, spinae crassitudine sexquipedali" (*Spec. Nat.* 1624, l. XVII., c. c., col. 1300).

p. 19, l. 9. *Dacoun.*—H. cite Dacoun, the preposition de having become incorporated in the noun Acoun. Boldensele: "De Tyro in una die veni per terram in Accon, quae Acri vulgariter dicitur. Haec famosa civitas in pulchra planitie situata est supra mare; quae quondam Christianorum fuit et antiquitus Ptolomaida dicebatur. . . . Per Sarracenos destructa est" (p. 35).

p. 19, l. 15. *besyde the cytee of Akoun.*—Boldensele: ". . . prope Accon vix ad quatuor miliaria supra mare a dextris est mons



Carmeli, non multum altus, . . . habitatio sancti Heliae, ubi et ordo Carmelitarum sumpsit exordium, . . . In hujus montis pede civitas erat quondam Christianorum, Caiphas nomine, nunc destructa" (p. 35).

p. 19, l. 21. *Cayphas*.—Albert d'Aix (V. 41, p. 460) is said by Sir G. Warner to have the same absurd derivation.

p. 19, l. 23. *Saffre*.—Boldensele: "Non multum a monte Carmeli a sinistris est villa Safaram in quodam monte, ubi beati Jacobus et Johannes nati dicuntur; et in loco nativitatis ipsorum pulchra fuit ecclesia constructa" (p. 36).

p. 19, l. 27. *Scala Tyriorum*.—1 Macc. xi. 59: "from the place called the ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt." ll. 27–28 missing in Cotton, supplied from Egerton and French original.

p. 19, l. 29. *Foss of Mennon*.—Vincent de Beauvais quotes Pliny, who reports that glass was discovered accidentally by sailors near Ptolemais at the mouth of the River Belus (*Spec. Nat.* l. VII., c. lxxvii., col. 474). Sir G. Warner notices that Josephus alludes to the monument of Memnon near the river, and to a concave spot, that yields vitreous sand (*B. J.* II. 10, 2). D'Outremeuse seems to have added the allusion to the Gravelly Sea, which reappears on p. 181, ll. 19–29. In his *Mirror of Histories*, he writes: "En une terreur d'Acre at une sablon dont on fait verre claire et bon avec aighe de mere" (vol. I., ed. 1864, p. 294), *i. e.* in a territory near Acre there is a kind of sand from which clear and good glass is made with sea water.

p. 20, l. 5. *svelogh*.—Brussels 11141: souspiral; H.: espiral, *i. e.* spiracle or vent-hole.

p. 20, l. 8. *Gaza*.—H.: ceo est a dire cite riche. This derivation is from Isidore, *Etym.* (in Lindemann's *Gram. Lat.*, v. III., p. 462): Vocata autem Gaza, eo quod ibi Cambyzes rex Persarum thesauros suos posuit, cum bellum Aegyptiis intulisset. Persarum enim lingua thesaurus Gaza nominatur (l. XV., c. i., § 16). The passage follows Boldensele, with additions from the Old Testament.

p. 20, l. 12. *of the beste*.—H.: des meillours. G.: milliers, agreeing with Boldensele and with Judges, xvi. 27.

p. 20, l. 17. *Cesaire*: Caesarea.—Sir G. Warner notices that Mandeville misunderstands Boldensele and reverses the positions of the towns along the coast. The order from south to north really is: Gaza, Ascalon, Jaffa, Caesarea, Athlit or Castellum Peregrinorum.

p. 20, l. 20. *Babyloyne* : i. e. Babylon the little, near Cairo.

p. 20, l. 24. *Daire*.—Latin Darium, now Deir el Belah, south of Gaza. Here Haiton of Armenia begins to appear as a source, along with Boldensele.

p. 20, l. 29. *Achellek*.—Sir G. Warner derives this from Et-Tîh, the name of the desert between Syria and Egypt, with a Turkish termination *lik*, which also appears in Calahelyk, p. 21, l. 15.

p. 20, l. 31. *Canopat*. Connected by Sir G. Warner with the town of Canopus and the Canopic branch of the Nile. See A. Ausfeld's note to his translation of the romance of Alexander, 1907, p. 138.

p. 20, l. 32. *Morsyn* "represents Mizraim, the Hebrew name for Egypt, in Arabic Misr, Mesryn" (Sir G. W.).

p. 20, l. 33. *Beleth*.—Boldensele : "Et primo procedens versus Babyloniam veni ad villam famosam et magnam, quae Belbeis nominatur" (p. 37). This town lies on the Ismailiyeh Canal, not near the kingdom of Halappee [Aleppo]. Mandeville might confound it with Baalbak, 35 miles north of Damascus (Sir G. W.).

p. 21, l. 1. *faire chirche*.—Boldensele : "ecclesia beatae Virginis in Babylonia, ubi ipsa cum Christo Jesu et Joseph, quando in Aegyptum de Judaea metu Herodis fugerat, aliquamdiu dicitur habitasse. Item alia ecclesia beatae Barbarae virginis, in qua corpus ipsius in parvo monumento marmoreo conservatur" (p. 39). -

p. 21, l. 6. *.iij. children in to the forneys*.—Daniel, i. 7 : "Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names : for he gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar ; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach ; and to Mishael, of Meshach ; and to Azariah, of Abed-nego."

p. 21, l. 15. *fayr castell*.—"ubi est sedes Soldani in uno castro pulcherrimo prope Kadrum. Hoc castrum in monte est non alto, sed petroso ; largum est et valde pulchris palatiis decoratum. Dicitur quod continue, pro diversis ipsius Soldani servitiis et custodia ejus, in ipso castro commorentur circa sex milia personarum, quibus quotidie de curia victualia ministrantur" (p. 37). The citadel is El-Kalah. "Sunt autem Kadrum et Babylonia duae civitates multum magnae, parum distantes et quasi contiguae. . . . Babylonia vero sita est super ipsum fluvium sine medio" (*ibid*).

p. 21, l. 20. *I duelled with him*.—Pure fiction : that the loves of Saracen princesses were offered to Christian warriors is a



commonplace of the romances, occurring in the *Chétifs*, etc. In Lucian's *Vera Historia*, the traveller refuses to marry the daughter of the King of the Moon.

p. 21, l. 25. *lord of .v. kyngdomes*.—William of Tripoli, *De statu Saracenorum*, cap. 19 [Melec elvahet Bondogar]: "sibi quinque subiugavit regna, in quibus solus dominatur et regnat, regnum Egyptorum, regnum Jherosolimitarum, olim David et Salomonis, regnum Syrie, cuius caput est Damascus, regnum Alapie in terra Emach" [Math, p. 21, l. 31, the Hamath of the Bible, now Hamah, 100 miles N. by E. of Damascus], "et regnum Arabum, olim Moab et filiorum Ammon."

p. 22, l. 3. *he holdeth Calyffes*.—H.: Et ouesqe ceo il est Califfes. The Englisher mistakes the Caliph's dignity, here equalled to a king's, for a realm or territory. Well-informed medieval writers compared the Caliph to the Pope and the Sultans to the Kings of the West. See note to p. 27, l. 10.

p. 22, l. 6. *firste soudan*.—The first part (*i. e.* 14 out of the list of 16) has been traced to its source in Hayton's *Liber de Tartariis* (c. 52, 53) by Bovenschen and Sir G. Warner. The last two, Melechmader (p. 23, l. 19) and Melechmadabron (p. 23, l. 21), do not appear in Hayton and cannot be identified. They may very well be fictitious. We borrow Sir G. Warner's list: 1. Zarocon (Siraconus in *Will. of Tyre*, XIX. 5) is Sheerkooch, *d.* 1169.—2. His nephew (not son) Saladin, the hero of the Crusading poems, and especially of the *Pas Saladin*, a rhymed account of a tournament (p. 22, l. 11: the passage þat Sahaladyn ne myghte not passen), *d.* 1193.—3. Boradyn (noradin in Brussels 10420–5), Saladin's son, El-'Afdal Noor-ed-deen, never reigned in Egypt.—4. neveve, possibly Melik-el-Kámil.—5. Melechsalan, Melik-es-Salih, *d.* 1249.—6. Tympieman (Tinqueman, Brussels 10420–5), Hayton's Turquimarus, a Turcoman, and emir of Mamelouks, named El-Mo'izz Eybek.—7. Cachas, named Kutuz, wrongly described as Melecmees by Hayton.—8. Bendochdare, known to the West as Beybars or Bibars, defeated St. Louis, *d.* 1277.—9. Meleschsach, *i. e.* Melik-es-Sa'eed was his son.—10. Elphy is Melik-el-Mansoor Kaláoon.—11. Mellethasseraf, Melik-el-Ashraf Khaleel.—12. Melechnasser, Melik-el-Nasir Mohammad.—13. Guytoga (Hayton's Guiboga) Melik-el-'Ádil Ketbooghá, identical with Melechcadell.—14. lachyn, Melik-el-Mansoor Lageen, identical with Melechmanser.

p. 22, l. 14. *Comaynz*.—Slaves from Cumania are said by



Hayton to have been the first mameluks of Egypt. The Egerton MS. calls them "þe comoun pople."

p. 23, l. 17. *Mountrivall*.—Scribal error for Montroyal, also called Karak.

p. 23, l. 22. *þo contrees*.—Here Dr. J. Vogels (Mand. 1886, p. 15) edits an interpolated Latin letter, supposed to be from Melechmandabron's son to the then Pope, from two French MSS. (Bibl. Reg. 20 B.X and Sloan 560), and from two Latin ones (V. 96, Eg. 672). The text is corrupt and the translation doubtful.

Cuius (*viz.* Melechmandabron's) filius senior, Melechmasser nomine, scripsit litteras summo pontifici, tenorem qui sequitur continentes :

"Balthazarday, illustris regis filius, soldani Babiloniorum, Assyriorum, Egyptiorum, Amaricanorum, Medorum, Alexandrinorum, Parthorum, et Ethyopum, Constantinus de Jerico, prepositus terrestris paradisi custosque sepulture crucifixi, rex Jerosolomitanus, Affrice et Asie, dominus Barbarie, ab oriente usque ad occidentem, rex regum et princeps principum, nepos deorum; standardus Machometi, dominus ab arida arbore usque ad flumen paradisi et ad montem magnum Ararath, timor et angustia inimicorum, interfector christianorum, consolatio paganorum, transfixio loricarum—magno sacerdoti Romanorum gratiam, quam palpitat queritando et salutem, quam visitando meretur. Ortodoxi fundamentum fidei christianorum, robur discretorum, fortitudo prudentium; hoc omnia in capitis tui cellula quasi thesaurus requiescunt; memoria vero tua strepit, incipiens vacillat, obedescit stulticia. Qui pater diceris, et filiis tam inaudita mala machinaris! Tu enim et philippus francorum rex, et alii reguli in baculo arundinis confiditis, spem vobis ponentes, que velut stuppa incensa evanescit et uno flatu consumitur. Nam quicquid contra nos moliendo poteritis cogitare, totum animi matura deliberacione pervidimus, non timemus. Qualis enim pater es tu, qui filios non morte naturali, sed subita perire compellis? An putas, quod sagittis et pharetris careamus, in quas filios tuos mittere non formidas, ut eas in se recondant et vivaces animas sic morti tradant? A quo subversa est preciosissima civitas Jerusalem? A quo funditus destructa est civitas Achon potentissima? A quo desolata et deleta est Tripolis famosissima? Nonne CCCLV. civitates nobis subiecimus, quas famuli olim crucifixi rexerant? Tu filios in mare procellissimum, ubi flumina furiunt, ire compellis; sed tu ipse non sequeris, in arido stas et stultos pauperes in flumine mergis. Vere simplices seducis, sed ipse non



antecedis. Pater quidem nomine, sed non re nuncuparis. Sufficiat ergo tibi te sic more Turcorum conducere. Attamen si terram nostram desideras, ecce Achon et Tripolim filiis tuis aperiemus et reparare concedimus taliter, ut sint nobis perpetui censuales. Consulimus itaque, ut dominum tuum, si potes, primo invoces, ut per nos numerus martirum impleatur, et ut iuvenes renascantur, qui patrum cruorem vindicantes ad nos properent penam consimilem recepturi. Nichil enim aliud quam sanguinem christianorum querimus, quem sitimus. Consule igitur tibi ipsi, qui prudens diceris, et salva iam morti expositos—alioquin occisor eris et seductor simplicium—quod ipse nature a te demon graviter requirit. Quem nobis posse rebellare credis, cum tota gens tua respectu nostre multitudinis sit quasi gutta maris?

“Datum babilonie anno nativitatis nostre XXXIX°, regni vero nostri XX°.”

Melechmandabron's elder son, named Melechmasser, wrote a letter to the Sovereign Pontiff, the import of which is as follows:

“Balthazarday, son of the illustrious king, the soudan of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Amaricans, Medes, Alexandrinians, Parthians and Ethiopians, Constantine of Jericho [?] provost of the Earthly Paradise and guardian of the Sepulchre of the Crucified, king of Jerusalem, of Africa and Asia, lord of Barbary from East to West, king of kings and prince of princes, offspring of the gods, standard of Mohamet, lord from the Dry Tree to the river of Paradise and to the high hill of Ararath, terror and threat to the enemies, killer of Christians, comfort of paynim, piercer of harnesses,—to the High Priest of the Romans sends such grace as he trembles to beseech and such greeting as he deserves on a visit. The foundation of the true faith of Christians, the strength of the cautious, the bravery of the discreet, all these repose, like a treasure, within the hollow of thy head. Yet thy memory resounds, it begins to shake; stupidity devours thee. Father art thou called, and for thy children thou preparest such unheard-of evils! For thou and king Philip of France and other kinglets put your trust in a staff of reed, raising to yourselves a hope that vanishes like burning tow and is consumed with one breath. For whatever you may scheme and imagine against us, we perceive it all in the clear thoughts of our mind, nor do we fear. What kind of father indeed art thou, to drive thy sons to a sudden, unnatural death? Believe<sup>st</sup> thou us to be short of arrows and quivers, that thou shrinkest not from sending thy sons against them, to hide them in their bodies and so



deliver their living souls to death? By whom has the most precious city of Jerusalem been overthrown? By whom has the powerful city of Acre been razed to its foundations? By whom has far-famed Tripoli been laid waste and ruined? Have not we subjected three hundred and fifty-five towns, formerly built by the servants of the Crucified? Thou forcest thy sons into a stormy sea, where streams are raging, but dost not follow thyself; thou stayest on dry land, and drownest poor fools in the stream. Truly thou misleadest the simple, but dost not go first. Father art thou called in name, but not in deed. Let it suffice thee therefore so to behave in the manner of the Turks. If however thou desirest our land, lo, we shall open Acre and Tripolis to thy children and allow them to restore them, provided they are our tenants for ever. We accordingly advise thee first to call on thy Lord, if thou canst, that the number of martyrs may be increased by us, and that young men may rise again and, in revenge for the killing of their fathers, hurry towards us to receive similar punishment. For we want nothing more than the blood of Christians, and we thirst for it. Be advised, therefore, thou that art called wise and save those now in danger of death, otherwise thou wilt be a murderer and seducer of simple folk, even the spirit of nature earnestly entreats thee to it. Who dost thou think can resist us, as all thy people, compared to our multitude, are as a drop in the sea?

“Given at Babylon [Cairo] on the 39th year of our birth, and on the 20th of our reign.”

The Philip of this mock-heroic epistle can only be Philippe Auguste, who fought Saladin in the third Crusade.

p. 23, l. 23. *mo þan .xx. Mill.*—This military information is from ch. 50 and 51 of Hayton; only Hayton gives the number of men under each amuratus, or emir, as one to two hundred. Mandeville boldly doubles the figure!

p. 23, l. 26. *ben all weys at him.*—H.: sunt totdis a luy. Gallicism, meaning: they always belong to him.

p. 23, l. 30. *be the cytees & be townes.*—H.: par les cites et par les villes, meaning: about the cities and towns.

p. 23, l. 31. *.iiij.*—Scribal error for *iiij<sup>c</sup>*.

p. 23, l. 32. *.v.*—Scribal error for *v<sup>c</sup>*.

p. 23, l. 33. *als many taketh.*—H.: Et atant prent luy admiral, and as much (pay) takes the emir, etc.

p. 24, l. 2. *.iiij. wyfes.*—Will. of Tripoli, c. 21: [Bondogar]: “Coniugium laudat, quatuor habens uxores, quarum quarta est

christiana iuvencula Antiochena, quam semper secum circumducit " (ed. Prutz, p. 588).

p. 24, l. 7. *paramours*.—The substance of this passage, down to l. 18, has been traced by V. Chauvin to ch. ii. of the Book of Esther (*Le prétendu séjour de Mandeville en Égypte*, Wallonia, 1902, pp. 237–242). Bovenschen was greatly impressed by the air of truthfulness of these indecent jokes!

p. 24, l. 19. *tartarie*, *tartaire*; *camaka*, *camocas*, rich medieval cloths of silk.

p. 24, l. 28. *here armes lift vp*.—This dramatic scene is from the Crusading epics, but I have mislaid the reference.

p. 24, l. 31. *but pat he*.—H.: Et auxint nul estrange vient deuant luy, qi luy fasce ascune requeste, qil nel ottroie, pur quoi qil soit resonable et ne deuient contre sa loi. The reading of the two Brussels MSS., although so corrupt that I have to modernise it, is more grammatical: Aussi un étrange messenger ne vient devant lui qui lui fasse requête qu'il ne lui octroie, pourtant qu'elle soit raisonnable, etc.; i. e. No messenger from abroad appears before him to make a request without it being granted, provided it is sensible and not opposed to his law. The Cotton version makes no sense.

p. 24, l. 34. *seyn pat noman*.—Brussels 10420–5: Car ilh dient que nus ne doit venir deuant princez qui nen valhe myel et doit estre plus lyes au departir de sa presence que al venir deuant ly. For they say that none ought to come before the prince without being better off, and [that people] ought to be gladder on leaving his presence than on appearing before him. Cotton makes no sense.

p. 25, l. 1. *Babyloyne*.—After Boldensele, p. 38–39: "Turris Babel a filiis Noë incepta in loco propinquo asseritur, ubi humanum labium confusum est. Locus autem desertus dicitur et quasi inaccessibilis propter ferarum crudelium et venenosorum animalium ibidem commorantium multitudinem numerosam." The desolation of Babylon, announced in Isaiah xiii. 19–22, was turned by heretics against the Church of Rome. Adso (*De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. Sackur, 1898, p. 107) prophesies that Antichrist shall be born in Babylon. See p. 73, l. 19.

p. 25, l. 23. *the ydoles & the symulacres*.—A covert attack on the worship of images of saints.

p. 25, l. 27. *.cc. cubytes*.—Honorius Augustodun., *Imago Mundi* (Migne, v. 172, col. 125, l. I., c. xv.): "Cuius muri latitudo est 50 cubitorum, altitudo ducentorum cubitorum, ambitus civitatis quadringentorum octoginta stadiorum."



p. 25, l. 31. *he departed þat Ryquere*.—Sir G. Warner traces this story to Herodotus (I. 189), who tells it of the Gyndes, while Sanudo (p. 55) transfers it to the Ganges.

p. 26, l. 2. *not the grete Babiloyne*.—Boldensele is again followed and padded out with geographical commonplaces.

p. 26, l. 14. *Methon*.—Brussels 10420-5 adds: *ly payens lapellent Jathrib*, which Bovenschen spells *Jathreb* and describes as an earlier name of Medina. The form *Methone* (*Mothona*) is from the Alexandrian romances (see Ausfeld: *Alexanderroman*, 1907, p. 132, fn.).

p. 26, l. 17. *Musketh*.—Boldensele: “. . . corpusque ipsius perditissimi pseustis [Greek for liar, a compliment carefully omitted by Mandeville, the friend of Infidels] sub soldani diligentissima custodia in civitate, quae Meca dicitur [the Middle Ages believed Mahomet's shrine to be at Mecca], sita in deserto Arabiae de Babylonia circa 25 diaetas in pulchra ipsorum ecclesia quam musquet vulgariter dicunt” (p. 38). *Mezchita* (*meschita*) occurs as the Latin for mosque (Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III., 1912, p. 314). Mandeville elsewhere has the form *Moseach* (on p. 152, l. 11).

p. 26, l. 31. *Botron*.—Sir G. Warner quotes Eugesippus: “Arabia jungitur Idumeae in confinibus Bostron” (p. 993), and places this at Bostra, now Bosrah, about eighty miles south of Damascus.

p. 27, l. 4. *Theophilus*.—The hero of the miracle of Our Lady. Will. of Trip.: “. . . Mesopotamiam . . . in qua civitas metropolis Zaram, quam habitabat Abraham, quoniam dictum est ei a Domino, Gen. XII<sup>o</sup>: Egredere e terra et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui, de qua civitate fuit gloriosus doctor Effrem et etiam Theophilus, quem virgo Maria de manu inimici liberavit” (ed. Prutz, 582). Ephrem Syrus lived in the fourth century.

p. 27, l. 10. *Calyffez*.—This word, which was a stumbling-block to the Englisher on p. 22, l. 3, is rightly interpreted as successor of Mahomet by Will. of Tripoli (p. 581 of Prutz's ed.), and was in the Middle Ages applied to the pope of Infidels:

“ . . . . . parlement  
La ou li apostoles Califes les atent,”

(*Chanson d'Antioche*, 1848, II., p. 61.)

“Califfes lor sermone, qui bien fu escolés;  
C'est li maistre apostoles de lor actorités.”

(*Chevalier au Cygne*, éd. Hippeau, II., 1877, p. 79.)

p. 27, l. 13. *Baldak*.—Will. of Trip.: “Transit hostis [Hebbis =

Abdallah Abu l'Abbas (750–54)] ultra fluvium ad terram, que olim fuit regnum Caldeorum, nulloque resistente bellatore ad regum civitatem Baldach, que Suzis olim nominata est, quam edificavit Nabucodonosor, pervenitur ibique dictus princeps.”—“Baldach, in qua regnavit Assuerus et regina Ester et sanctus Daniel vidit revelationes miras et divinas” (ed. Prutz, p. 582). Sir G. Warner identifies Susis with Shushan.

p. 27, l. 17. *.iiij. Calyffeez.*—Will. of Trip.: “tres calife, unus in Baldach, alius in Marroch, tercius vero in civitate prefata [*i. e.* Carre = Cairo]” (ed. Prutz, p. 583). H: “Il soleit auoir en temps passez iii. Califfes. Cis Darrabiens et de Caldiens demorroit en la cite de Baldak desuisdit; et a Cair delez Babiloigne demorroit le Califfe des Egipcians; et au Marrok sur la meer doccident demorroit le Califfe des Barbariens et de Affricaux.”—The error is the scribe's. Read: The caliph of Arabia and Chaldea dwelled in Baldach; at Cairo dwelled the Caliph of Egypt; in Morocco on the Western Ocean dwelled the Caliph of Barbaresques and Africans.

p. 27, l. 23. *Sahalaulyn.*—Will. Trip.: “ipsum suum calife, qui auctoritate Macometi videbatur esse maior, peremit et sedem calife in Egypto evertit” (ed. Prutz, c. xiv.). Mandeville goes beyond his authority, a common practice with d'Outremeuse.

p. 27, l. 29. *Gyson somtyme clept Nyle.*—Medieval geography believed that the Euphrates, one of the four springs of Paradise, ran under the Red Sea and reappeared in Egypt as the Nile. A. Ausfeld, *Alexanderroman*, traces this to Pausanias (II. 5. 2) and to Philostratos (*Vit. Apoll.* I. 20. 2) (p. 156 of Ausfeld). Boldensele repeats it (p. 39). Bovenschen quotes Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*: “Geon qui et Nilus iuxta montem Athlantem [Mandeville's Aloth] surgens, mox a terra absorbetur, per quam occulto meatu currens, in littore rubri maris denuo funditur, Aethiopiam circumiens per Aegyptum labitur, in septem ostia divisus, magnum mare iuxta Alexandriam ingreditur” (Migne, *Patrol.* 172).

p. 27, l. 31. *signe of Cancer.*—The four dates for the Flood, Cancer, Leo, Libra and Virgo, are given in Pliny, 5. 57, 5. 90, 18. 167, quoted by Bovenschen.

p. 28, l. 7. *pei entren betwene theise ryueres.*—Nonsense. Pliny: “revocatur intra ripas in libra” (5. 57). H.: adonques elles entre dedeins ces riueres. Meaning: when the sun is in Libra, the river shrinks back into its banks.



p. 28, l. 15. *Morekane*.—Mauritania. Mandeville sends the Euphrates all the way to Morocco before letting it merge in the Nile!

p. 28, l. 18. *Sikonyes*.—H.: sigoignes.

p. 28, l. 19. *Egypt is a long contree*.—Boldensele: "Et sciendum quod Aegyptus oblonga patria est et in aliquibus partibus constricta propter desertum siccum latera ipsius ambiens et comprimens, de cujus natura etiam ipsa Aegyptus est, nisi quod in quantum exuberante fluvio vel naturaliter vel artificialiter conducto visibiliter fertilis efficitur. . . . Rarum pluit in ea" (p. 39). The other source is Hayton, c. 54.

p. 28, l. 24. *large of lengthe*.—H.: tant est ly pais largez. The whole sentence means: Egypt is no wider than the stretch which the floods of Nile serve to fertilise, or than the waters can spread over the land.

p. 29, l. 6. *heghite . . . loweness*.—H.: la haute qest vers Ethiopie, et la basse qest vers Arabe. Cotton's nouns make no sense.

p. 29, l. 12. *Coston*.—Sir G. Warner guesses at Kus on the east bank of the Nile, a little below Luxor and at Kosseir, the port opposite to it on the Red Sea.

p. 29, l. 13. *cytee of lybye*.—H.: terre de Libie. Probably the scribe's mistake. Read: contree of lybye.

p. 29, l. 18. *more þan two so moche*.—H.: plus de ii tant desert. Meaning: more than twice so much of desert?

p. 29, l. 20. *it hath wel*.—H.: y ad bien, meaning: there is about twelve days' travelling in the desert. Gallicism.

p. 29, l. 22. *blake as the Moires*.—Egerton adds: and þat þai hald a grete bewtee, and ay þe blakker þai er þe fairer þam think þam. And þai say þat, and þai schuld paynt ane aungell and a fende, þai wald paynt þe aungell black and þe fende qwhite. And, if þaim think þam noȝt black ynough whan þai er borne, þai vse certayne medecynes for to make þam black withall.—Although this passage is wholly in d'Outremeuse's manner, it does not occur in the French texts known to the editor. The medicine to blacken the complexion is used by Maugis the enchanter in the *Four Sons of Aymon*. In the Alexander romance, the dark queen Candace writes to the Macedonian that the minds of her people are lighter than the brightest among the Greeks (ed. Ausfeld, 1907, p. 97). Jacques de Vitry: "nos autem nigros Aethiopes turpes reputamus, inter ipsos autem qui nigrior est, pulchrior ab ipsis judicatur"

(*Hist. or.*, ed. 1597, p. 215). John of Hildesheim writes of the black Nestorian heretics: "Et in ecclesiis suis depingunt Christum et matrem eius et beatum Thomam nigros et diabolos albos in despectum alborum" [text: aliorum], ed. 1878, p. 25.

p. 30, l. 1. *Nota*, etc.—This seems to have been interpolated from the margin, as it occurs neither in Brussels nor in H.

p. 30, l. 3. *holy heremyte*.—Sir. G. Warner: "St. Antony, whose encounter with a satyr is described by St. Jerome in his *Vita S. Pauli*" (Migne, 23. 23)." *The Golden Legend*; Mapes, *Nug. cur.* 2. 15; Gervas Tilb., *Ot. Imp.*, 1. 18, are also given as possible sources. The salvation of this monster is a parallel to that of Hermogenes on p. 11, l. 16, and to that of Job the paynim on p. 197, l. 9.

p. 30, l. 4. *pat is to seyne*, etc.—This explanation is missing in the original, and may have been inserted by the Englisher. The monster is called a satyr and faun in Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxvii.

p. 30, l. 17. *And ȝit is the hede*.—This seems a bold invention, after the manner of d'Outremeuse.

p. 30, l. 23. *Fenix*.—The source of this legend is in Pliny (X. 3); it became known to the Middle Ages through the *Physiologus*.

p. 31, l. 6. *And the tayll is ȝelow + red*, etc.—H.: et la cowe reget [roietz, S.] de trauers de iaune et de rouge. Meaning: and his tail is striped across, yellow and red. The Englisher probably read *royé*, *rayé* as *rejeté*, and translated it as cast again!

p. 31, l. 11. *Emeraudes*.—Boldensele: In superioribus Aegypti est vena smaragdina, unde ibidem smaragdi melius et in meliori forma habentur, quam in alia mundi parte (p. 41 of 1855 ed.).

p. 31, l. 14. *myzs*.—Halliwell, 1866, reads Myrs; Pollard, 1900, mires. H.: sores = mice. Sir G. Warner traces this to Pliny (IX. 179): quippe detegente illo musculi reperiuntur.

p. 31, l. 20. *coueren hem*.—Brussels, 10420-5: couent, i. e. hatch them. H.: les coeuerent, followed by Cotton.

p. 31, l. 34. *in a bascat*.—Brussels, 10420-5: en une trocke. Brussels, 11141: tresque. Egerton: on a clustre. Godefroy explains troche as "assemblage, faisceau, masse, troupe, quantité."

p. 31, l. 37. *the appull tree of Adam*.—While the slave-market and incubator are from Boldensele, the information regarding the miraculous fruits rests on a confusion with Jacques de Vitry,



*Hist. Hier.* c. lxxxvi. : Sunt ibi aliae arbores poma pulcherrima et citrina ex se producentes, in quibus quasi morsus hominis cum dentibus manifeste apparet; ed idcirco poma Adam ab omnibus appellantur. . . . Sunt ibi praeter ficus communes quaedam singulares ficorum species, fructus in ipsis truncis absque ramis et foliis facientes, non inter folia vel ramos superiores, sicut fit in aliis arboribus, sed ipsi trunco adhaerentes: has autem ficus Pharaonis appellant.

p. 32, l. 4. *the feld where Baume groweth.*—Boldensele visited the garden of El-Matariyeh, near Cairo. His account is supplemented by Mandeville from Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.* l. XIII., c. xcix., col. 1008 of 1524 edition; c. lxxxiv., col. 1000). Sir G. Warner and Bovenschen mention many more sources, most of them quoted in the *Speculum Naturale*.

p. 32, l. 8. *with on of his feet.*—H.: vii fontaignes, dount nostre Seignur Ihesu Crist en fist vn de ses piez; *i. e.* seven wells, one of which made with his feet by Our Lord. Mistranslation.

p. 32, l. 16. *ne falle nought.*—H.: ne flectrissent point, *i. e.* do not wither. Mistranslation.

p. 32, ll. 21–23. *Enochbalse, Abebissam, Guybalse.*—These Saracen names are unexplained. They may have been in use among pharmacists, or d'Outremeuse may have invented them. In the romance of Balan, Fierabras takes two barrels of balm in Rome (G. Paris: *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 1905, p. 251).

p. 32, l. 29. *I haue not seen it.*—The usual joke of the arch liar. He had not seen the speaking trees!

p. 32, l. 32. *take gode kepe for to bye.*—H.: qil se fait bien garder dachater baume, *i. e.* people had better abstain from buying balm.

p. 33, l. 1. *wax in oyle.*—H.: Et ascuns mettent cuire en oile de boys del fruit de baume, *i. e.* And some put fruit of balm to boil in wood oil. The Englisher read cire = wax instead of cuire = boil; his sentence is sheer nonsense.

p. 33, l. 24. *it wole take & beclippe the mylk.* H.: tantost ly lait acoillera et prendra, *i. e.* the milk will curdle [mod. French: se cailler] at once.

p. 34, l. 2. *Gernerres of Joseph.*—Boldensele sensibly writes: "Dicunt simplices haec maxima monumenta fuisse granaria Pharaonis, et sic ea appellant. Sed nullo modo est, quod nec ad imponendum, nec ad extrahendum, nec ad conservandum annonam aut frumentum locus in ipsis pyramidibus aptus deprehenditur,

maxime quod a summo usque deorsum plenae sunt maximis lapidibus, invicem bene junctis, nisi quod porta parvula a terra bene elevata remansit et via stricta ac tenebrosa, per quam ascenditur per certum spatium in eisdem, nulla in ipsis reperta latitudine spatiosa (p. 44 of 1855 ed.). Mandeville's petulant advocacy of the wrong view is thoroughly characteristic.

p. 35, l. 5. *because pat.*—H.: come bien qe le plus pres soit ly plus digne, *i.e.* although the nearer way is the worthier. **Mistranslation.**

p. 35, l. 24. *hilles.*—H.: islez de Itaille, viz. the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. Cotton's slip may be a scribal blunder.

p. 35, l. 36. *bastardles or none.*—H.: bastardz ou de loial mariage. Cotton's *or none* is redundant.—E. S. Hartland quotes this in a discussion on changelings (*Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, p. 111, fn. 1). A horse is said to strive to kick a changeling and to lick human children.—Chapter xc. of the *Golden Legend*, itself founded on Acts xxviii., says: Dicitur quoque, quod omnes qui de progenie illius hominis, qui Paulum de hospitio excepit, nascuntur, a venenosis ullatenus laeduntur, unde cum pueri nati sunt, in cunis eorum patres serpentes ponunt, ut probent, si veri eorum filii sunt. This is placed in Melita, but is transferred to Sicily in a letter *De statu Apuliae et operibus vel artibus Virgilii*, mentioned by Bovenschen as inserted in the chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck (l. V. xix., p. 193–196). According to Sir G. Warner, Pliny (VII. xiii.) reports the same of the Psylli, a tribe of North Africa. Jean d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of History* writes that women take their children to be tried by a snake in Africa (Vol. I., 1864, p. 298).

p. 36, l. 7. *.vij. places.*—H.: vij lieux. The English translation is correct, but the author mixed his description of Aetna with an echo of Pliny (III. 92–94) describing the seven Lipari islands. According to the *Grande Encyclopédie*, a saint has shut the devils in an extinct volcano in Lipari.

p. 36, l. 13. *weyes of helle.*—H.: chymenes denfern, *i.e.* chimneys of hell. This is a mistranslation, unless the Englisher's French original already had chemins for cheminées.

p. 36, l. 16. *Greef.*—Brussels, 10420–5: Cret. Egerton: Greff. H.: Gref. Sir G. Warner notices that Corfu did not belong to the Genoese, and therefore thinks of Corsica, but Mandeville would not be so particular.



p. 36, l. 17. *at Gene.* H.: as Janeweis, *i. e.* that belongs to the Genoese. Gallicism.

p. 36, l. 18. *Myrok*, explained by Sir George as Hiericho (Spruner, pl. 84), or Mavrovo in Albania.

p. 36, l. 19. *+ pere is a Duk at Duras.*—H.: a la cite de Duras qest a Duc de Duras. D'Outremeuse would remember that the name of Duras was borne by a Belgian family. The Englisher slightly alters the meaning.

p. 36, l. 31. *the Emperour Leoun*, etc.—The *Golden Legend* (c. lix.) relates how Mark's bones came to Venice.

p. 37, l. 6. *lignum aloes.*—Boldensele: Inveniturque in eo et circa ipsum lignum aloë et diversi coloris lapides carneoli (p. 39).

p. 37, l. 12. *Babiloyne.*—Chapter viii. is mainly composed of the commonplaces of Crusading geography. The beginning of ch. ix. follows Boldensele again.

p. 37, l. 17. *welle pat Moyses made with his hond.*—Exod. xvii. 5: . . . and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go.

p. 37, l. 20. *welle of Marach.*—Exod. xv. 23–25.

p. 37, l. 23. *Elyn.*—Boldensele: Deinde veni in Helym locum valde delectabilem in deserto, ubi sunt 12 fontes at 70 palmae et una de stationibus Israël, ut in Exodo reperitur (p. 46 of 1855 ed.). The author of *Mandeville* adds two palm trees, as his way is (Exod. xv. 27; Numb. xxxiii. 9).

p. 38, l. 1. *largeness in lengthe.* H.: Elle poet bien auoir vii. lieues de large. The two meanings of the word large, the English one and the French one, are confusing to the Englisher.

p. 38, l. 9. *no man may go on horsbak.*—A deliberate fraud. Boldensele, his source, writes: De Kadro et Babylonia recedens partibusque Aegypti in Arabiam properavi, venique ad montem Synai eques in decem diebus (p. 44 of 1855 ed.). The “.xij. gode iourneyes” of l. 16 are also a falsification.

p. 38, l. 20. *into tyme . . . langage.*—H.: iusques atant qe homme sache la langage, *i. e.* until the time when one knows the language.

p. 39, l. 6. *of the Bayes or of Olyue.*—H.: des ramis ou de raies de oliue. Brussels, 10420–5: de rains ou des branchez de oliue. My French texts are corrupt; a possible reading may be: des rains ou des baies d'olivier, *i. e.* twigs or berries of the olive tree. The Englisher would then have repeated the French baies instead of translating it.—Boldensele has no birds and oil story. Its source is Vincent de Beauvais: De corpore vero eius [Sanctae

Catharinae] pro sanguine lac emanavit, ipsumque corpus ab angelis mox assumptum est, et ab illo loco [Alexandria] in montem Sina 20 diebus itineris transportatum, atque ibidem in magna miraculorum gloria requiescit. Nam et ex tumba eius oleum manat, et cuncta debilium membra sanat (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XIII., c. viii., p. 509, ed. 1524). The birds may be an invention of d'Outremeuse's, or a reminiscence of Ezek. xxxix. 17: . . . birds of every sort . . . assemble yourselves, etc. Sir G. Warner refers to Thietmar's *Peregrinatio* (1217), where the Virgin promises the monks an inexhaustible supply of oil, if they will stay in their convent (ed. Laurent, 1857, p. 46). *Les Pelérinaiges pour aler en Jherusalem* (ed. 1882, in *Itinéraires* etc.), report that many wild beasts on the hills get their living merely by licking the tomb of Our Lady St. Catherine (p. 98). Bovenschen refers to Petrus Comestor, *Lib. Exod.*, c. xxix.

p. 39, l. 22. *Instrument of syluer*.—This occurs in Boldensele, p. 47, and is transferred to the relics of the Three Kings by John of Hildesheim, 1878: the more the arms of the Three Kings are rubbed with an instrument of silver, the more a sweet perfume spreads throughout the church (p. 33). As is commonly the case with d'Outremeuse's duplications, the fictitious account precedes the second, which is more or less faithfully borrowed from a source.

p. 39, l. 25. *swete of smell*. H : noirastre, i. e. blackish, a word probably incomprehensible to the Englisher.

p. 39, l. 31. *schewen the bussch*.—Boldensele does not claim to have been shown the actual bush!

p. 39, l. 37. *his lampe schal lighte*.—In the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, the election of Godfrey of Bouillon to be king takes place in the same way: the taper in his hand lights of itself, while the other candidates' do not burn. Once it is lighted by a dove:

Es vos i blanc colon, volant de randonée  
Qui li a devant lui sa candeille alumée.  
(Ed. 1868, canto vii., p. 279.)

Another time, the Lord sends a flame:

Voient le chierge au duc jeter grant embrasée  
Que Dex i envoia par bone destinée.  
(*Ib.*, canto v., p. 190.)

On ever-burning lights in romances see Faral: *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, 1913, pp. 176–177.

p. 40, l. 3. *whan ony of hem schall dye*.—That every man may



foresee the time of his death by viewing his lamp or taper of life is an allegory, still current to-day. Bovenschen refers to Reinfrid von Braunschweig, fol. 208a, and to W. Grimm, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, II., 185 ff., ed. K. Bartsch, ll. 26998 ff.

p. 40, l. 8. *fynde vpon the awtier the name*. In the fourteenth century romance of the Knight of the Swan and Godfrey of Bouillon, the barons who leave Godfrey are recalled by a dove laying a parchment letter on the altar (Borgnet in t. III. of *Chevalier au Cygne*, 1854, p. lxix).

p. 40, l. 17. *Mirabilia*.—Perhaps adapted from Ps. lxxi. 17: O God, thou hast taught me from my youth: and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous work. Jacques de Vitry, describing the Holy Land as the country of wonders, has a chapter on wonderful occurrences in the Holy Land, on earthquakes, thunderstrokes, showers and snowfalls (*Hist. or.* 1597, c. lxxxiv., p. 165).

p. 40, l. 20. *bothe on and oper how it befell*.—H.: Et lors ils me disoient qe lun et lautre estoit auenuz plusours foitz, *i. e.* Then they told me that either miracle had often occurred.

p. 40, l. 22. *flye ne todes*.—H.: En celle abbeye ny entrent musches, ne muscherons, ne puices, ne autre tiel ordure, *i. e.* In that abbey enter neither flies, nor gnats, nor fleas nor other such vermin. The Englisher expands, perhaps because he knew no equivalent for moucheron. The source is Boldensele, p. 47. D'Outremeuse dramatises as is his wont. Von Dobschütz, article: "Charms and Amulets," in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia*, p. 422, recalls that flies are types of the demons (*Mart. S. Viti. Act. Sanct. June*, III., 503). Virgil expelled every fly from Naples by setting up a brazen fly on the city gates (Gervasius of Tilbury, III., 16 ff., Liebrecht's notes).

p. 40, l. 30. *before the gate*.—Boldensele: In hoc monasterio est aqua, quam percussione virgae praecepto Dei jussit Moyses emanare (p. 47). D'Outremeuse carries the well from inside to the space outside the gate!

p. 41, l. 6. *Reisins of Staphis*.—As Sir G. Warner has found no other mention of St. John's vine in this neighbourhood, we may assume d'Outremeuse's invention as the source.

p. 41, l. 16. *noman knoweth where he was buryed*.—In the Arthurian romances, a traitor called Moses disappears in an abyss. His body will be claimed. Lancelot is to open the abyss (P. Paris: *Romans de la Table Ronde*, I., 1868, pp. 145-146).

p. 41, l. 29. *the Collect of seynte kateryne*.—Sir G. Warner

quotes from the Roman Breviary, 25 Nov. : Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi in summitate montis Sinai et in eodem loco per sanctos angelos tuos corpus beatae Catherinae virginis et martyris tuae mirabiliter collocasti, etc.

p. 42, l. 7. *Bedoynes*.—Besides Boldensele, Jacques de Vitry (p. 1062) and Odoric, *De Terra Sancta* are followed. The romances contain similar accounts.

p. 42, l. 18. *pei eten no bred*.—Alexandre, ed. 1846 :

La gent de sa contree manjuent peu de pain  
Lait boivent de camel et a soir et au main.

(p. 114, ll. 27-28.)

p. 42, l. 21. *hote stones*.—Vincent : Ichtyophagi . . . in littore maris rubri super petras solis calore ferventes assant pisces (*Spec. Hist.*, I., c. lxxxvi., p. 32, ed. 1624).

p. 43, l. 8. *Bersabee the wif*.—This lovely etymology is worthy of d'Outremeuse's inventiveness and of his love of indelicate stories.

p. 43, l. 14. *an .c. 3eer*.—Pseudo-Methodius : fecerunt planctum super eum Adam quoque et Eva annis C. (Ed. Sackur, 1898, pp. 60-61).

p. 43, l. 18. *Sacerdotall*.—H. : Et si fuist la cite sacerdotale de tribu Iuda. Et estoit si franche qe homme resceuoit la totes futifs dautre lieu pour lour malfaites. Bovenschen quotes Eugesippus, p. 103, as the source.

p. 43, l. 23. *kyng David*.—Source, according to Bovenschen, 2 Kings v. 5.

p. 43, l. 27. *t of Lya*.—Egerton adds : and pai er in þe hingand of þe hill. And ower þaim es a riȝt faire kirke wele bretist aboute, as it ware a castell, þe whilk Sarzenes kepez riȝt wele. H : . . . Lie, en le declin de la montaigne. Et dessus eaux y ad vne bele esglise, kernele [*i. e.* crénelée = battlemented] en guise dun chaustel, la quelle ly Sarazins gardent mult curousement. This was probably omitted by the copyist of Cotton. It is translated from Boldensele, p. 50.

p. 43, l. 30. *cristene man*.—Egerton adds : ne Iews, following French.

p. 43, l. 36. *Karicarba*, Kirjath-Arba, Joshua xiv. 15. The source for this page is in the guide-books, such as Eugesippus, who is quoted in Vincent de Beauvais, and Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*.

p. 44, l. 6. *And of þo same*.—H. : La, mesme lieu. Brussels 10420-5 : la mesmes, *i. e.* in that very place. This seems sheer



carelessness of the Englisher. Boldensele: In hac sancta valle Hebron locus est, ubi Abraham in ostio sui tabernaculi sedens in ipso fervore diei tres vidit et unum adoravit. . . . In hoc loco etiam ipse vir sanctus angelos Dei hospitio recepit (p. 50 of 1855 ed.).

p. 44, l. 10. *Adam formed*.—Burchardus, *De Terra Sancta*: De spelunca duplici contra occidentem, quantum jacere potest arcus, est ager damascenus, in quo loco plasmatus fuit Adam. Ager iste in rei veritate valde rubeam habet terram, quae omnino flexibilis sicut cera. De qua tuli in magna quantitate. Similiter faciunt peregrini alii et Christiani visitantes loca ista. Sarraceni insuper terram istam portant camelis in Aegyptum et Aethiopiam et Yndiam et ad alia loca, pro speciebus valde caris vendentes eam. Et tamen modica apparet fossio illo in loco. Dicitur enim, quod anno revoluto, quantumcumque magna sit fossio, semper miraculose repletur. Sed oblitus fui quaerere rei veritatem; hoc tamen dico, quod modica fuit fossio, cum essem ibi, ita quod vix quatuor viri sedissent in ea; nec erat profundior, quam usque scapulas meas. Dicitur tamen, quod, quicumque terram istam secum portat, animal eum non offendit. Hominem insuper dicitur a casu conservare (ed. 1864, p. 81). This guarded statement is turned by our text into a bold tale of wonders.

p. 44, l. 23. *Cambyll*.—Sir G. Warner has traced this word to the *Pandectae Medicinae* of Matthaeus Silvaticus (circ. 1317), who defines it as “terra rubea minuta, quae affertur de Mecha” (ed. Lugduni, 1641, fol. xiii.). Arabic canbîl, kinbîl. D’Outremeuse may have learned it from the English doctor John de Mandeville. Ducange, *Gloss. Graec.*, s.v. *καμβήλ*. It is not earth, but a dust-like powder obtained from a shrub. Modern name: Kamala.

p. 44, l. 29. . *broper* [sone].—The last word dropped in Cotton. H.: filz au frere Abraham.

p. 44, l. 30. *Mambre*.—Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*: A Ebron incipit vallis Mambre, quae protenditur fere usque Jerusalem. Non remote ab Ebron est mons Mambre, et in ipso monte stat arbor, scilicet quercus arida, quae ab antiquitate sua speciale sibi nomen meruit habere in universo mundo, et vocatur arbor sicca. Sarraceni dicunt eam dirp. Haec creditur stetisse a tempore Abrahae, et quidem ab initio mundi, virens, donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur (p. 154 of 1864 edition).

p. 44, l. 33. *drye tree*.—Sir G. Warner states that only Odoric and Mandeville identify the oak of Mamre with the Dry Tree of

medieval romance, placed somewhere at the confines of the world in the Far East. Jeanroy, *Poésie lyrique*, 1904, quotes from the *Jeu du Pèlerin*:

Bien a trente et chieuc ans que jo n'ai aresté,  
S'ai esté au Sec Arbre et dusc'à Dur Esté.

(from Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au Moyen Âge*, p. 97 ; p. 251 of Jeanroy). In Cordier's edition of Odoric, 1891, the Biblical passages given as the source of the romance are: Mark xi. § 2, 12-14 ; Matt. xxi. 18-22 ; Luke xviii. 6-9 ; Ezek. xvii. 24. An alternative name for the Dry Tree is l'Arbre seul, the sole Arabian tree of the *Phoenix and the Turtle*. In *Baudouin de Sebourg*, the Dry Tree is connected with the wood of the Cross (*Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXV., p. 574.)

p. 45, l. 1. *in the world*.—H. : ou ils dessechcheront, ou ly coers fendi et purissoit, et sunt demorez touz voidez et tot creuez par dedeins, dont il y ad vnqore mointez parmy le monde, *i.e.* either they dried, or their hearts split and rotted within, and they have ever since remained empty and hollow within, of which there are still many about the world.

p. 45, l. 4. *prophecies*.—Among works ascribed to the Venerable Bede is a *Sibyllinorum verborum interpretatio*, printed in Migne, Vol. XC., col. 1181-1186 : *exsurget rex nomine H animo constans . . . Judaei convertentur* (col. 1185). R. Taylor, *Political Prophecies* (1911) : "The Last-King-of-Rome story, relating to the successful Crusade of an English king and his death in the Holy Land, was used in prophecies from the thirteenth century on, and was applied to Edward II., Edward III., etc." (p. 109).

p. 45, l. 7. *schall wexen grene*.—Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. 1898 by Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* : [Antichristus] *Faciet ignem de coelo terribiliter venire, arbores subito florere et arescere*. D'Outremeuse would be familiar with prophecies occurring in Arthurian romances, and connected with the name of Merlin. Taylor, p. 141. A Biblical source is Ezek. vii. 10 : Behold the day, behold it, it is come : the morning is gone forth ; the rod hath blossomed, pride hath budded. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, discusses second advent theories on pp. 204-220. On their connection with Nero see Ebert, *Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1874, I., p. 92. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, l. XV., v. 560 :



“ Utque Palatinis haerentem collibus olim  
 Quum subito vidit frondescere Romulus hastam  
 Quae radice nova, non ferro stabat adacto,  
 Et jam non telum, sed lenti viminis arbor  
 Non expectatas dabat admirantibus umbras.”

Cf. Numb. xvii. 5 : And it shall come to pass, that the man's rod, whom I shall choose, shall blossom.

p. 45, l. 13. *the fallynge euyll*.—Sir G. Warner notices that Eugesippus does not mention this curative virtue of the Dry Tree, but only its power to protect a horseman from a fall. Von Dobschütz, article on “Charms and Amulets” (Hastings's *Encycl.*, p. 418), says that the falling sickness is cured by wearing the names of the Three Kings who fell in worship before the Infant Christ.

p. 45, l. 14. *his hors schall not ben afoundred*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXXI., c. lix. : Mambre . . . quercus . . . incolis cara et medicinalis. Nam si quis eam siccam portet, non infunditur bestia cui insidet.

p. 45, l. 18. *a lityll cytee*.—Boldensele : Est autem Bethleem civitas parvula quantitate loci, licet non virtute mysterii, oblonga est et stricta a lateribus suis, profundis vallibus bene naturaliter communita.

p. 45, l. 21. *audiuimus eum*.—Ps. cxxxi. 6 has *eam*, correctly repeated in French texts, wrongly altered to *eum* in English.

p. 45, l. 24. *corneres*.—H. : kerneux. Modern French : créneaux, battlements. Mistranslation. Egerton : kinnelles.

p. 45, l. 28. *feld florissched*.—Sir G. Warner notices that the “champ flori” of the French *Itinéraires* is elsewhere (éd. Michelant et Raynaud, 1882).

p. 45, l. 29. *blamed with wrong*.—H. : encoulpez a tort, *i. e.* unjustly accused. Mistranslation repeated in Egerton.

p. 46, l. 4. *the first Roseres*.—Mr. Robin Flower, of the British Museum, has pointed out the source of this in a manuscript described in Mr. James's Catalogue of MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1895, p. 31. In a *Life of the Virgin* it is related that Abraham's daughter became pregnant through the smell of a flower on the Tree of the Cross. Being suspected, she has to enter a fire, which God turns to roses, lilies and eglantines. The sparks and flames become singing birds. The girl's son Phanuius (Phaniel) gives birth to Anne through his thigh.—The MS. is dated 1323. Mr. James refers to Leroux de Lincy, *Livre des Légendes*, 1836, pp. 24–29. and to *Histoire littéraire de la France*,

t. XVIII., pp. 833–837. E. Montégut, *Heures de lecture d'un critique*, 1891, p. 278 fn., refers to the legend as Arabic.

p. 46, l. 14. *place where the sterre fell*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. VI., c. xci.: quidam tradunt Bedam voluisse, quod in puteum Bethlehem illico ceciderit [stella] (p. 205). John of Hildesheim, 1878: stella stetit immobilis et infra muros lapideos et fictiles per modicum intervallum stella cum tanta et tali claritate et fulgore se demersit, sic quod omnia in tugurio et spelunca fuerunt illuminata (p. 15). Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*: puteus, ubi videtur stella, quae duxit tres reges ad Christum in praesepio (ed. 1864, p. 153).

p. 46, l. 14. *the .iiij. kynges*.—The names are from Petrus Comestor, *Hist. evang.*, c. viii.

p. 46, l. 21. *Cassak*.—This localisation in India is from friar Odoric, *Descriptio orientalium partium*, c. iii.

p. 46, ll. 27–29. *charnell of the Innocentes . . . seynt Ierome*. From Odoric.

p. 46, l. 37. *traces may zit ben sene*.—John of Hildesheim 1878: Et in illa capella videtur adhuc lapis, super quem beata virgo sedendo filium lactare consuevit. Et quadam vice modicum lactis de sua mamilla super lapidem cecidit. Cuius lactis species usque in praesentem diem super ipsum lapidem permansit, et quanto plus abraditur quanto plus crescit (p. 17).

p. 47, l. 4. *pat the cristene men han don let make*.—H.: *qe ly Cristiens font faire*, i. e. that the Christians get made.

p. 47, l. 7. *Alkaron*.—The three names are from William of Tripoli, *De statu Saracenorum*, ed. in Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1883, p. 590.

p. 47, l. 20. *holde[n] hem alle acursed*.—H.: Et tignent mout a desesperez touz ceaux qi ent mangent. Brussels 11141: moult a despit. Perhaps this is the right reading: all those that eat pork they hold in great despite.

p. 47, l. 24. *for it is forbode*.—H.: non pas qe lour soit defenduz, mes par ceo qil en ont poi, i. e. not because it is forbidden, but because they own but few. Mistranslation.

p. 48, l. 5. The close of the chapter is from Boldensele and from Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*, 1864, p. 153.

p. 48, l. 11. *cleped Iebus*.—Guérin, *La Terre Sainte* (1897), quotes St. Jerome, *Epitaphium Paulae*: “. . . ingressa est [Paula?] Jerosolymam urbem trinominem, Jebus, Salem, Jerusalem, quae ab Aelio postea Hadriano, de ruinis et cineribus civitatis in Aeliam



suscitata est" (p. 95). Odoric, *De T. S.* 1864, p. 148, has a still larger number of names. Bovenschen refers to Isidor, *Etym.* XV. 1, 5; to Honorius: *Imago Mundi*, I. 16; to Jacques de Vitry, c. lv., p. 93; to Albericus Tr. Font., MGSS. XXIII., p. 811, 7.

p. 48, l. 25. *Abowten Ierusalem*.—Both Bovenschen and Sir G. Warner notice that the distances from Jerusalem to the surrounding cities vary from those given by geographical authorities. The blame may be laid either on d'Outremeuse or on his translator, or on the scribes.

p. 48, l. 30. *seynt karitot*.—The authorities given for this are Eugesippus, Burchard (X. 30, p. 82), etc.

p. 49, l. 2. *in moornynge*.—H.: en peinture, in painting; so the two Brussels MSS. Mistranslation. Sir G. Warner quotes Comestor, *Evang.* 178: et adhuc compaginati videntur. Did d'Outremeuse connect the word compago, skeleton, with the radical of pictura? Here the two blunderers, French and English, are seen at work on the same expression.

p. 49, l. 15. *.xl. zere*.—Saladin took Jerusalem in 1187. If the *Mandeville* had been written forty years later, we should have to place it about 1227, an impossible date. If the date of 1356, given at the close (p. 210, l. 32) was correct, the distance would be 169 years. The author of the *Travels* did not trouble to lie consistently, and he may have blindly copied an earlier writer, as Sir G. Warner suggests. He may also have put in a figure haphazard. Both Brussels MSS. have: vij<sup>xx</sup> et xiiij ans. This would make the date of composition 1341, five years after Boldensele wrote.

p. 49, l. 18. *holy Sepulcre*.—Boldensele, 57–59, is followed.

p. 49, l. 32. *to breke the ston*.—H.: de prendre de la pierre ou piece ou poudre, *i. e.* to take away a fragment or some dust from the stone.

p. 50, l. 6. *it lightez agayne by it self*.—This annual miracle of the Holy Fire is traced by Sir G. Warner to the Crusading historians: Albert d'Aix, XII. 33; Baudri de Dol, I. 4; Foucher de Chartres, II. 8. It should be compared to the miracle by which Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king, p. 39, l. 37, and to the allegory of the lamp of life on p. 40, l. 3.

p. 50, l. 11. *set in a morteys*.—H.: Celle roche est fendue et celle fendure homme appelle Galgatha, *i. e.* this rock is cracked and the crack is called Golgotha. The Englisher could not translate

the verb fendre, and therefore fell back on the word mortise from c. II., p. 6, l. 19.

p. 50, l. 12. *dropped the woundes*.—Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*, c. XV.: Mons autem Calvariae, in quo crucifixus erat Dominus, ubi sanguis de latere eius fluens in lapidem sub monte, in parte illa, quae Golgata dicitur, ubi inventum est caput Adae, etc., p. 149 of edition of 1864.

p. 50, l. 21. *Otheos*, etc., from Comestor, *Hist. Schol. Evang.* 179, Migne, cxcviii. 1634: ὁ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν. ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. Ps. lxxiv. 12: For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.

p. 50, l. 28. *Cyos myst*, etc.—Sir G. Warner prints this, after Tobler, as: πέτρα ἣν ὁρᾷς ἐστὶ βάσις τῶν πιστέων τοῦ κόσμου. The stone which thou seest is the foundation of the world's faith.

p. 50, l. 31. *of all the world t*.—Mistranslation, as appears from the above.

p. 51, l. 2. *pei ben bothe trewe*. Sir G. Warner credits the author of *Mandeville* himself with this piece of sophistry, and Dr. Bovenschen remarks that it shows great ignorance. It may be added that it throws ridicule on the prophecies and on the people who believe in and comment on them. In a year of ten months, each month must needs be longer than in a year of twelve.

p. 51, l. 4. *Gayus*.—H.: Gaius Ceser, Brussels 10420-5: Julius Cesar.

p. 51, l. 15. *alliceys droppen water*.—Boldensele: Circa hunc locum sunt quaedam columnae marmoreae aquam continue distillant; et simplices dicunt quod defleant et plangent mortem Christi (pp. 60-61). D'Outremeuse omits the reference to simple-minded people. The romances of Charlemagne relate that the stone on which the Emperor sat after the disaster of Roncevaux is still wet with his hot tears (Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III. 1912, p. 326). Burchard, *De Terra Sancta*, 1864, similarly writes of white stone marked with red spots: color sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi apparet hodie in ipsa scissione petrae (p. 71). And again, of the pillar of scourging: Est autem de lapide porfiritico subnigro, habens maculas rubeas naturaliter, quas credit vulgus tincturas esse sanguinis Christi (p. 71). Stories of statues or images sweating blood, tears or milk belong to the common stock of romances, especially those of Alexander. The vessel of Enydros at Constantinople is connected by d'Outremeuse with the same class of fables (see p. 9, l. 31).



p. 51, l. 18. *the holy croys was founden*.—The *Golden Legend*, c. lxviii., is the source for the legend of the Holy Cross.

p. 51, l. 27. *a brydlill*, etc.—H.: Et del vn des claus fist lempereur Constantin vn frein pur son chival pur porter en bataille, *i. e.* And of one of the nails the Emperor Constantine made a bit for his horse to wear in battle. Mistranslation.

p. 52, l. 2. *be cristen men*.—H.: par la pruesse de eaux, *i. e.* through their bravery.

p. 52, l. 7. *the myddes of the world*.—Sir G. Warner points out an inconsistency: the centre of the world, here placed on the spot where the wounds were washed after the Descent from the Cross by that hero of the Graal romances, Joseph of Arimathia, is elsewhere located in the place where the True Cross revived a dead body (p. 51, l. 22). A lance pitched here at midday on the Equinox would cast no shadow (p. 121, l. 35). Sensible people in the Middle Ages disbelieved such stories.

p. 52, l. 24. *prestes yndyenes*. The sect of the Indian Christians, founded by St. Thomas, is often mentioned by d'Outremeuse.

p. 52, l. 29. *many popes*.—This reference to the Papacy is not openly hostile; still the popes are said to have altered the rites of the Early Church, and the Oriental dissenters are described as devout.

p. 53, l. 21. For the close of this chapter, each particular has been traced to one or more sources by Sir G. Warner and Dr. Bovenschen. The distance of two hundred paces (l. 10) and the number of pillars (ll. 13 and 15) seem an invention of our author's.

p. 53, l. 25. *wel paued*.—H.: . . . couerte de plum. Et ad grande place entour sanz nulle maison; et est la place bien pauée par tot de marbre blanc. Egerton, like Cotton, omits the reference to the place or square.

p. 53, l. 29. *I hadde lettres*.—Boldensele: Soldanus namque Babyloniae fecit mihi singularem gratiam, Dei mediante favore, dans mihi literas, quibus me omnibus subditis recommendabat, ut me ad loca sancta per totum ejus dominium libere ire permitterent sine omni tributo, exactione, teloneo, et me, meos ac mea salvarent, honorarent, ab omni offensa et injuria quorumcumque custodirent. Multi iverunt ultra mare, magni et parvi, nobiles et ignobiles, sed hujus temporis nullus hoc modo, quod reputo singularem gratiam et donum gratuitum Salvatoris. Quocumque perveni et illis, quorum intererat, literas soldani monstravi, statim se

levabant, literas osculabantur, super caput ponebant, me honorabant, aliquoties victualia gratis praesentabant, et se mihi ad beneplacita benevolos exhibebant (ed. 1855, p. 45). Mandeville, pretending to write as an eye-witness, proves a mere plagiarist.

p. 54, l. 1. *grete seel . . . signett*.—This clause is missing in my French texts and in Boldensele. Nevertheless, it may be original: from his notarial practice, d'Outremeuse would be familiar with the distinction between a seal and a signet.

p. 54, l. 9. *suche as han serued him*.—Brussels 10420-5: *quilh nont pont seruit*, *i. e.* who have not served him. Mandeville had pretended (p. 21, l. 20) that he served the soldan as a soldier, and thus earned his privileges. The truthful Boldensele, who really enjoyed advantages, makes no such claims. The English or the Cotton copyist omits the negative.

p. 54, l. 14. *grettere reuerence to his lettres*.—Here the opposition no longer lies between the seal and the signet, but between the letters and the seal or signet, as in Boldensele. Corpus Domini is the host, ceremoniously worshipped by believers in the real presence. Still, we need not see here an allusion to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

p. 54, l. 25. *to Parys*.—H.: a Ayes la Chapelle. Brussels 10420-25: a Ays la chappelle a vij liwes de Liége, *i. e.* to Aix-la-Chapelle, which lies seven leagues from Liége. This passage yields one of the arguments for believing the *Mandeville* to have been written in Liége. The distance is correctly stated.

p. 54, l. 26. *Peyteres*; l. 27. *Chartres*.—Charlemagne's fictitious pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a common theme of romance. The authorities quoted by Sir G. Warner for the preputium story are: *De Situ* (p. 426), Eugesippus (p. 999), John of Wirtzburg (p. 119), Petrus Comestor (*Evang.* 6; Migne, cxcviii, 1541) and the *Golden Legend* (c. xiii.). Dr. Bovenschen adds Vincent de Beauvais, XXV., c. v., the most likely source. Poitiers and Chartres, in the French text, appear to be misreadings of d'Outremeuse (possibly of his copyists) for Charroux in Poitou, where a Benedictine abbey was founded by Charlemagne, and where the relic was transferred by Charles the Bald.

p. 54, l. 28. *not the temple*.—Sir G. Warner and Dr. Bovenschen agree that no single source has been found for those particulars. Boldensele, the topographers, Scripture and the author's imagination have all contributed.



p. 55, l. 1. *.xxx. for o peny.*—This sale is mentioned in the Arthurian romances, P. Paris: *Romans de la Table Ronde*, I., 1868, p. 140, and in the *Golden Legend*, c. lxxv.

p. 55, l. 10. *lynage of Troye.*—The epic tradition of the Middle Ages connected Rome with Troy.

p. 55, l. 18. *long tyme befor.*—H.: Cis emperour fist enclore et enmurer lesglise de seint Sepulcre ouesques la cite, qauant estoit loinz dehors de la cite, *i. e.* This Emperor ordered the church of the Holy Sepulchre to be enclosed and walled in with the city, which before lay far outside the city. Mistranslation. The Englisher mistook the adverb of space for the adverb of time.

p. 55, l. 32. *ben many high stages.*—H.: y a plus haute estage, *i. e.* there is a raised (higher) platform. Mistranslation.

p. 55, l. 35. *cometh noman.*—H.: La ni entroit nulli fors qe luy prelait, *i. e.* therein entered no man except their high priest. Mistranslation. The French refers to the past of the Old Testament, the Englisher transfers the statement to his own time.

p. 56, l. 5. *but it renneth noght.*—This is not in the sources. It would perhaps be fanciful to apply it to the drying up of the springs of piety in the Church.

p. 56, l. 7. *Vidi aquam.*—Sir G. Warner states that this is not directly from Holy Writ, but from an antiphon for the sprinkling of holy water at Easter, *Graduale Rom.*, Paris, 1858, p. 2, itself founded on Ezek. xlvii. 1. The Anglo-French *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre* (éd. Riant, 1882), p. 231, calls the spring Parays, Paradise.

p. 56, l. 10. *fat men clepen Moriach.*—H.: qe homme soleit appeller Moriach. Mistranslation.

p. 56, l. 15. *the .x. commandementes.*—H.: les tables des x comandementz et la verge Aaron et la verge Moyses. The English seems past mending. The two occurrences of the preposition *of* seem due to the French *des*.

p. 56, l. 22. *honournementes.*—H.: ournementz. Brussels 11141: aournemens. Scribe's mistake?

p. 56, l. 24. *with .iiij. figures & .viij. names.*—H.: ouesque vij figures des nouns nostre Seignur. Brussels 11141: avec vij figures.

p. 56, l. 27. *pei bare Cherubyn.*—H.: il y auoit iiii. cherubin dor de xij. palmes de long. Mistranslation.

p. 56, l. 28. *the Cercle of Swannes.*—H.: le cercle des signes

du ciel. The Englisher read *cygnes*, swans, instead of *signes*, signs. The French text meant the signs of the Zodiac.

p. 57, l. 7. *3af him light*, repeated on l. 14. The French original omits ll. 6-7: And in this roche . . . light, probably introduced by the Cotton scribe through homoioteleuton.

p. 57, l. 36. *turtles*.—H. adds: et maintenant ont les Sarazins fait roies sur ccl aultier pur regarder quelle heure de iour il est ouesque vne broke qil y a, *i. e.* and now have the Saracens made lines on that altar to see what time of the day it is with a pin that is there. This description of a sundial was probably too hard for the translator.

p. 58, l. 8. *Salomones scole*, so called after Boldensele, appears to be identical with the temple of Salomon of l. 9.

p. 58, l. 9. *right fair & wel pollisscht*.—H.: mult beau et siet en vne grande place et bien plaine. Mistranslation.

p. 58, l. 10. *duelle*.—H.: demorrerent. The present is a mistranslation. The order of Templars was abolished in 1312.

p. 58, l. 16. *water fro paradys*.—This fiction of d'Outremeuse's was probably suggested by the name of the spring mentioned in the note to p. 56, l. 7. *3it it droppeth* sounds like mockery.

p. 58, l. 27. *Probatice piscina*.—The pool of Bethesda, John v. 2. Vincent de Beauvais, l. XXXI., c. lxiv. (of 1624 ed.), connects it with the Legend of the Holy Cross: In Hierusalem est lacus, qui probatica piscina dicitur, cuius aqua singulis sabbatis ab angelo movebatur. Descendente scilicet ad visitationem ligni Dominice passionis ibidem absconditi a tempore Salomonis. Et post aquae motionem sanabatur unus, quicumque descenderet in eam prius. Iuxta hunc ergo lacum sanavit Dominus in sabbato Paralyticum, sub templo Domini et monte Syon. In his *Mirror of Histories*, Jean d'Outremeuse reports that after the Tree of the Cross was removed from the pool, its water cured diseases after stirring. The tree was laid across as a bridge (vol. I., 1864, p. 324). On p. 62, l. 34, the bridge spans the brook Kidron. Boldensele is matter-of-fact, as usual: Non longe versus aquilonem est illa Probatice piscina, curatrix debilium secundum evangelium motu angeli descendente, et ecclesia sanctae Annae, aviae Christi, ubi beata Virgo concepta et nata fuisse dicitur (p. 55 of 1855 ed.).

p. 59, l. 1. *cursed & cruell*.—Sir G. Warner and Dr. Bovenschen agree that Pet. Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, 2 Macc. xxiii., *Evang.* 13-18,



and the *Golden Legend*, c. x., are the sources for the legend of Herod.

p. 59, l. 16. *lete smyte of all the hedes*.—Similar stories were current about Nero and Alexander. Nöldeke, *Alexanderroman*, 1890, writes that, according to Dinawari, Alexander before his death wanted all prominent citizens and kings' sons to be killed. Aristotle advised him to give them crowns (p. 41).—Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 1908, reports that when Nero foresaw his end, his astrologer Babilus advised him to murder his nobles (I. 4).

p. 59, l. 25. *name & loos*.—H.: de grant renoun. The noun loos, *i. e.* praise, seems inappropriate.

p. 59, l. 31. *the left Arm*.—Sir G. Warner knows no source for this or for the piece of St. Stephen's head.

p. 60, l. 3. *the ston*.—Bovenschen knows no source; Sir G. Warner traces it to Odoric, c. xxi.

p. 60, l. 15. *And pere also*, etc.—H.: La y a auxi vne pierre, en pareie delez la porte, de la columpne a quoi nostre Seigneur fuist flagelle; the meaning appears to be: Here, within the wall, beside the door, there is also a stone from the pillar which Our Lord was scourged at.

p. 60, l. 28. *oure lady herde*.—Sir G. Warner knows no source. Dr. Bovenschen has nothing.

p. 61, l. 6. *pan the oþer syde*.—H.: qe de nulle autre, *i. e.* than on any other side.

p. 61, l. 12. *cast vp*.—H.: Et la est ly lieu ou li Iuys voloient iecter ius le corps nostre Dame, *i. e.* And there is the spot where the Jews wanted to throw down the body of Our Lady. *Mistranslation*.

p. 61, l. 14. *seynt Petir wepte*.—Chapel of St. Peter ad Gallicantum. Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXXI., c. lxiv. (ed. 1624): In loco Lycostratos ter Dominum Petrus negavit, et loco quae dicitur Gallicantus amare flevit. The *Mandeville* follows Boldensele. The Galylee of l. 19 is variously placed by Sir G. Warner's authorities, and often identified with the Gallicantus.

p. 61, l. 22. *reysed the mayden*, the daughter of Jairus in the Gospel, placed here by Eugesippus.

p. 61, l. 30. *hond of Absalon*.—From Boldensele, who refers to 2 Kings = 2 Sam. xviii. 18: ". . . and it is called unto this day, Absalom's place." Boldensele: In hac etiam valle [Josaphat] in pede montis, super quem civitas sancta constituta est, sub terra

quodammodo sunt natatoria Syloe, fons scilicet Christi evangelio non ignotus. Ex opposito ejus statua quaedam lapidea bonae magnitudinis et artificiosa discernitur, quam, ut dicitur, Absalon ob memoriam sui fieri praecepit, et in libro Regum manus Absalon appellatur (p. 64, ed. 1855).

p. 61, l. 33. *synagoge*.—Not mentioned in the *Itineraries*.

p. 61, l. 34. *sarrazins*.—H.: Phariseuz, right. The mistake is the Cotton scribe's.

p. 62, l. 7. *pilgrymes grauen*.—Jean d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* has more about Aceldama: ilh en achaterent [with the 30 pennies] unc lieu por pendre et destruire les malfaiteurs; et la ilh metteroient les corps de cheaux qui moront en la citeit de Jherusalem, de strangnes gens, sicom pelerins et aultres (Vol. I., 1864, p. 409). The method of expansion is characteristic.

p. 62, l. 24. *pat pe lyoun mette withall*.—H.: qe ly leoun assembla touz, *i. e.* whom the lion all collected. *Continueur de Guillaume de Tyr* (éd 1882): A iij archiées de Jherusalem avoit une cave que l'en apeloit le charnier du Lyon. En cele cave au tenz le roi Cosdroé furent .xij. m. martyrz pousséz par le lyon (p. 171). *Chanson de Jérusalem*, éd. Hippeau, 1868:

Dex affait tex miracles, ains si beles ne vis

Et tot no Crestien sont assés près de chi  
i lions les a mis, par la Jhesu merchi  
Ens en i bel carnier, onques plus bel ne vi.

(Chant VIII., p. 356, ll. 9079-9083.)

The Englisher has mistranslated his original.

p. 62, l. 34. *ouerthwart lay a tre*.—See note to p. 58, l. 27.

p. 62, l. 36. *is 3it entered*.—H.: est vnqore en terre, *i. e.* still in the earth, interred.

p. 63, l. 9. *out of the flōme of paralyz*.—See notes to p. 56, l. 7, and to p. 58, l. 16.

p. 63, l. 14. *into the vale And pat pei*.—H.: pur ceo qe . . . luy murs soient cheuz et tombez en la vallee et qils laient ensi reemplie et la terre enhaucez, *i. e.* because the walls have fallen into the valley and have thus filled it and raised the ground. The blunder may be the scribe's; then we ought to read: And pat it hath ben so filled, etc.

p. 63, l. 17. *the erthe hath so ben clouen*.—H.: la terre est ensi creuee de luy mesmes, *i. e.* the earth has grown of itself. Mistranslation. The verb croître is correctly rendered in l. 19: wexeth t

MANDEVILLE.

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groweth. That the surface of the earth is constantly changing is a fact recognised by Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Naturale*, l. VI., c. xx., de Montibus: . . . Sicut aqua putei crescit post ablationem, ita crescere contingit terram humorosam, *i. e.* as water rises in a well after some has been removed, so the moist ground will rise sometimes. Earthquakes were interpreted as miracles. According to the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, when Christ entered the Holy City on Palm Sunday, the earth bent under his feet:

La chités fu plorans, la terre si ploia  
 Sos les piés Jhesu Crist, ainc puis ne redrecha.  
 (éd. Hippeau 1868, Canto II., p. 37.)

Such wonders were added by d'Outremeuse to Boldensele's sensible remark: In hujus vallis principio a sinistris est ecclesia beatissimae Virginis, in quam descenditur per plures gradus lapideos, quae pro majori parte sub terra est, quod credo etiam ruinis civitatis Hierusalem vallem replentibus accidisse, which corresponds to ll. 10–16 of our *Mandeville*.

p. 63, l. 30. *apperen the fynghes*.—The Anglo-French text of the *Chemins* (éd. Riant, 1882): En cel liu aperent les deys des mains Nostre Seignur (p. 195). Burchard, *De Terra Sancta* (1864) knows of other marks in stone: knees and hands (p. 69), hair and neckbone (pp. 68–69).

Ibid. *putte hem in the roche*.—H.: sapon a la roche, *i. e.* leant against the rock. Mistranslation.

p. 63, l. 35. *Josaphath was kyng*.—Odoric, *De Terra Sancta* (1864), c. xxviii. Deinde in valle Josaphat, dicta a rege Josaphat ibi sepulto . . . (p. 151). Both Sir G. Warner and Dr. Bovenschen think that the medieval legend of Barlaam and Josaphat (*Golden Legend*, c. clxxx.) gave rise to the sentence in ll. 35–37. Hermits are mentioned as living in the valley by Joh. v. Würzb. (VI. 509).

p. 64, l. 6. *vpon þat mount*.—H.: de celle montaigne, *i. e.* from the hill-top.

Ibid. *manye of the stretes*.—H.: auques par totes les rues, *i. e.* nearly through all the streets.

p. 64, l. 16. *wrot it*.—Besides the *Itineraries*, the romances of the Holy Grail allude to the writing of the Lord's Prayer in the stone. P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, 1868, I., p. 220.

p. 64, l. 18. *Marie Egipcyane*.—Not in the sources. Sir G. Warner notices a tomb of St. Pelagia on Mount Olivet. D'Outremeuse altered the name.

p. 64, l. 24. *Symon leprous*.—Sir G. Warner states that his identity with Julian the Harburer is disputed in the *Golden Legend*, c. 30.

p. 64, l. 35. *long fro.*—H. : loinz de, *i. e.* far from.

p. 64, l. 37. *place where oure lady appered*.—The spot where the Girdle was given to incredulous Thomas is not, according to Sir G. Warner, particularised in the *Golden Legend* (c. cxix.) or elsewhere. It seems an invention of d'Outremeuse's, like the stone of p. 65, l. 4, where the Lord shall sit on Doomsday.

p. 65, l. 6. *mount of Galilee*.—D'Outremeuse seems to have forged this story by confounding the Mount of Galilee (otherwise called Mount of Offence) of Odoric (p. 154) with the cave in Mount Sion called the Galilee, p. 61, l. 19 (Sir. G. W.).

p. 65, l. 11. *somtyne a lityll cytee*.—H. : Ierico soleit estre vne bele cite, *i. e.* Jericho used to be a beautiful town.

p. 65, l. 19. *refressched t fed*.—H. : qar elle auoit recelez et repastez les messagers, *i. e.* for she had hid and fed the messengers.

p. 65, l. 24. *mede of the prophete*.—Egerton : he schall take hyre of a prophete (Matt. x. 41).

p. 65, l. 30. *by a mountayne t forgh desert*.—H. : par vne montaigne deserte, *i. e.* across a desert hill. Boldensele : deserto quodam montoso medio existente (p. 65).

p. 65, l. 31. *a day iorneye*.—H. gives this as the distance from Bethany to the Jordan, adding : De Bethanie vers orient iusques a la grant montaigne ou nostre Seignur ietna xl iours y a vi lieux. The Englisher (or the Cotton scribe) runs the two sentences into one, mixing up the grammar and the topography.

p. 65, l. 34.—*tempted him*.—Page 69, l. 36 contains another reference to the Temptation.

p. 66, l. 17. *hous of Ieremye*.—No source known.

p. 66, l. 20. *Alom t of Alkatran*.—H. : Entour celle mer croist mult dalum et dalketran. Sir G. Warner quotes J. of Würzburg : supra ripam maris praedicti multum aluminis et multum catrani ab incolis reperitur et colligitur (p. 179). Diez, *Etymol. Wörterb. der romanischen Sprachen*, 1887, p. 93, knows forms with the article al in Portuguese and in Spanish, while the French guitran, goudron, the Italian catrame follow the Medieval Latin catarannus. Like the word cambil, the form alkatran betrays a derivation from Arabic, perhaps through books of medicine. This is a reason for believing the real doctor John de



Mandeville to have had a hand in the composition of our fictitious book of Travels.

p. 66, l. 22. *the baume*.—Burchard, *De Terra Sancta* (1864): In circuitu montis illius [Engaddi] et in ipso erat vinea balsamised tempore Herodis Magni Cleopatra, regina Aegypti, in odium ipsius Herodis favente Antonio transtulit eam in Babylonian Aegypti (p. 61). The present tenses “make” (l. 22) and “beren” (l. 23) correspond to preterites in the French original. H.: homme fist traire les arbresseaux et les porta homme plantier a Babiloigne.

p. 66, l. 26. *care þat men clepen karua*.—Sir G. Warner quotes John of Würzburg: supra lacum Asphaltitem in descensu Arabiae Karnaim spelunca in monte Moabitarum, in quem Balac, etc. (p. 179), and identifies the name with that of Ashtaroth Karnaim of Gen. xiv. 5.

p. 66, l. 28. *dede see*.—Sir G. Warner mentions Josephus as the ultimate source of these fables, widely current in the ‘Middle Ages.

p. 67, l. 1. *made moyst*. Prof. C. F. Brown has proved this to be the source of Cleanness, ll. 1027–8:

and þer water may walter to wete any erþe,  
Schal neuer grene þer-on growe, gresse ne wod nawþer.  
(*The Author of Pearl*, 1904, p. 150.)

p. 67, l. 3. *lond chaungeþ*.—Josephus relates that the water changes its colour thrice a day (Sir G. W.).

p. 67, l. 5. *gretness of an hors*.—Josephus: as large as headless oxen. Cleanness, ll. 1037–8:

And þer waltez of þat water in waxlokes grete,  
þe spuniande aspaltoun þat spyserez sellen.  
(C. F. Brown, *Author of Pearl*, 1904, p. 151.)

p. 67, l. 11. *ne may not dyen*.—Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 4, reports that Vespasian threw in men unable to swim, with their limbs bound (Sir G. W.). Cleanness:

If any schalke to be schent wer schowued þer-inne,  
þa; he bode in þat boþem broþely a monyth,  
He most ay lyue in þat loþe in losyng euer-more,  
And neuer dryȝe no dethe, to dayes of ende.  
(C. F. Brown, *Author of Pearl*, 1904, p. 150.)

p. 67, l. 17. *jren perein*.—Sir G. Warner notices a contradiction between the Medieval sources: Comestor declares that the heaviest things are cast up by the Dead Sea, while Antoninus Martyr (ed. Tobler, p. 97) states that everything sank in it. That iron should

float and feathers sink seems a characteristic invention of d'Outremeuse's. It is repeated in Cleanness, ll. 1025-6 :

For lay þeron a lump of led and hit on loft fletez,  
and folde þer-on a list fyper and hit to founs synkkez.  
(C. F. Brown, *Author of Pearl*, 1904, p. 149.)

This quotation leaves no doubt that its source is a French *Mandeville*. H. : Et qi metteroit fer dedeins, il noeroit par desure ; et qi mitteroit vne plume dedeins, elle irroit au founz.

p. 67, l. 19. *azenst kynde*.—The law of kind (*i. e.* of Nature) is often discussed in the *Mandeville*.

p. 67, l. 21. *faire apples*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* I., c. lxvii. : Nam pro scelere incolarum de coelo descendit ignis, qui regionem illam in cineres aeternos dissolvit ; cuius umbra quaedam et species in favillis et arboribus ipsis etiam adhuc videtur. Nascentur enim ibi poma virentia sub tanta specie maturitatis, ut edendi desiderium gignant, quae si carpas, fatiscunt, ac resolvuntur in cinerem, et fumum exhalant, quasi adhuc ardeant (p. 25). The corresponding passage in Cleanness bears some evidence of being derived from the French : Bot quen hit [viz. the fruit] is brused oper broken (p. 151), H. : qi les brusera ou trenchera parmy.

p. 67, l. 24. *brente + sonken*.—H. : ardz del feu denfern.

p. 67, l. 25. *lake dalfetidee*, corrupt from Asphaltites, the classical name of the Dead Sea, no doubt influenced by foetidus, = stynkyng. Nöldeke, *Der Alexanderroman*, 1890, p. 27, states that the stinking sea was opposed to the clear seas. Boldensele : mare Mortuum, foetens et horridum, lacus detestabilis et abjectus (p. 66).

p. 67, l. 26. *flom of deueles*.—Mare Diaboli, the name used in Crusading times.

p. 67, l. 32. *sett vpon an hill*.—Boldensele : Et prope est civitas parvula Segor, quae oratione Loth salvata est, cui mons supereminet, etc. (p. 66). Similarly H. : qar elle seoit a dessouz vne montaigne. Mistranslation.

p. 67, l. 33. *aboue the water*.—H. : dessouz leawe. Mistranslation.

p. 68, l. 1. *doughtres*.—The commentators take no notice of such immoral passages, or of their bearing on the literary and historical position of the author of *Mandeville*. Yet they are too many to be negligible.

p. 68, l. 14. *dwelleth 3it*.—H. : demorra. Mistranslation.



Boldensele (p. 66) and Burchard (p. 59 of 1864 ed.) both state that they could not see the statue of salt!

p. 68, l. 19. *.iij. 3eer and .x.*—H.: *iiii.<sup>xx</sup> dis ans.*

p. 68, l. 21. *another sone ysmael.*—H.: *vn aultre fitz Ismael, qi auoit XIII. anz, qele il auoit engendrez en Agar sa chambrere. Mistranslation.*

p. 68, l. 29. *renneth the flom.*—Boldensele: *Hic fluvius non est magnus nec multum profundus, limosum fundum habens, bonos pisces et dulcis saporis aquam continens . . . in radice montis Libani scaturiens, ex duobus fontibus, ut dicitur, Jor et Dan collectus re et nomine trahit originem. Per mare Tiberiadis fluens, prope locum ubi Christiani communiter balneantur, in mare Mortuum praedictum dilabitur, et non apparens ulterius inibi absorbetur (ed. 1855, p. 67).*

p. 68, l. 34. *laboch.*—As various French texts give initial *l*, instead of capital *I*, the misspelling is probably d'Outremeuse's.

p. 69, l. 5. *And gon the hilles.*—Sir G. Warner remarks that the topographers write that the valley of the Jordan (not the hills of Lebanon) extend to the desert of Pharan. D'Outremeuse misinterpreted his sources, and was followed by the Englisher.

p. 69, l. 10. *as a mannes heued.*—Bovenschen states that Thietmar (c. 29, p. 53) saw apples of that size from cedars, but denies that the cedars of Lebanon bear any fruit. D'Outremeuse adopted the more startling view.

p. 69, l. 12. *Betron.*—Explained by Sir G. Warner as Bostra, now Buzrah, about eighty miles south of Damascus.

p. 69, l. 13. *Meldan in Sarmoyz.* H.: *qe homme appelle Meldan en Sarazinois, ceo est a dire Foire ou Marchee en Romancz, i. e. which is called Meldan in the Saracen language, that is to say fair or market in French, because fairs are often held in that plain. The course ascribed to the Jordan in ll. 12–15 is that given to the Dan by Vincent de Beauvais, l. XXXII., c. lxi. Meldan is the form given by Eugesippus to the word spelt Medan by Vincent and known in the East as meidan, Arabic for a square or open space.*

p. 69, l. 17. *And in pat flom.*—Boldensele: *In hoc sacratissimo fluvio Dei filius a beatissimo praecursore Johanne baptizatur; vox Dei Patris auditur, Spiritus sanctus in specie columbae descendens cernitur, lavacrum regenerationis efficitur. . . . Hunc fluvium filii Israël sicco vestigio transierunt duodecim lapides de ipsius fundo secundum numerum tribuum assumentes et totidem aliunde sumtos*



in ejus medium reponentes in memoriam miraculi perpetuo recordandi. Undis hujus fluvii Naaman Syrus a lepra curatur. . . . Circa hunc fluvium plura sunt monasteria ubi Christiani . . . ducunt vitam : et prope est civitas Hai per Josue expugnata.

p. 69, l. 31. *cytee of Haylla*.—H. : la citee de Hay, la quelle Iosue assailly et prist. Englisher's blunder : he takes the French article la to be part of the name of the city.

p. 70, l. 7. *Carak en Sarmoyz*.—Boldensele : Ultra mare Mortuum versus orientem, extra fines terrae promissionis est castrum fortissimum in montanis, quod Latine Mons Regalis dicitur, in Arabico autem Krak. . . . Dicitur, quod sub castro in villa, quae Sobak dicitur, ac in terminis ejus Christianorum scismaticorum circa 40 milia commorentur de illis partibus oriundi (pp. 66-67). Boldensele confused the Kerak East of the Dead Sea with another Kerak, also called Montreal, and lying south of the Dead Sea. D'Outremeuse adopts his blunder. The Englisher took the French word *sarasinois*, describing the Arabic language, for the name of a country, like on p. 69, l. 14. Moreover, he read in as m.

Ibid. *Ryally*.—H. : roialment, misspelling for royal mont, *i. e.* royal mount.

p. 70, l. 8. *Baldwyn . . . of France*.—No Baldwin ever was king of France. Jacques de Vitry states that Mons Regalis [*i. e.* the Southern Krak] was founded by Baldouinus de Burgo, de regno Franciae, *i. e.* Baldwin II., third Christian king of Jerusalem (ed. Bongars, t. I., pt. II., p. 1068). Hence d'Outremeuse's blunder.

p. 70, l. 15. *.iij. iourneyes*.—Boldensele : De his locis processi versus provinciam Galileae per mediam Judaeam et Samariam in tribus diebus, et . . . perveni in Ramatha Sophim, in montem Ephraïm altum, ubi Helcana et beata Anna Samuelis mater commorati sunt; ibidemque sanctus ille propheta Samuel natus et defunctus est. [Samuel's grave in Mountjoy is mentioned on p. 62, l. 27.] Sic igitur procedens veni ulterius in Silo, . . . ubi arca Dei sub Heli sacerdote longo tempore servabatur, sicut astruit liber Regum. Hic vota et sacrificia populi Domino reddebantur, Samueli primo Deus locutus est et sibi inter cetera de mutatione sacerdotii intimavit et revelavit. Prope a sinistris est Gabaon, et ex opposito Gabaa, de propinquo Rama Benjamin, quorum locorum sacra historia recordatur. Inde procedens veni in Sichem vel Sichar, ubi est provincia Samaritanorum. Vallis est pulcherrima ac fecunda civitasque bona, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur, juxta quam circa viam versus Judaeam Dominus cum muliere Samaritana



prope puteum loquebatur, qui adhuc ibidem ostenditur, sed aliquantulum obstructus est; supra quem locum olim pulchra erat ecclesia, nunc plurimum dissipata (pp. 68–69).

p. 70, l. 33. *womman of Samaritan*.—H.: la femme Samaritane, i. e. the Samaritan woman.

p. 70, l. 35. *Roboas*.—Jeroboam (Kings xii. 28).

p. 70, l. 37. *cytee of Deluze*.—H.: cite de Luze.

p. 71, l. 7. *Dyne*.—Gen. xxxiv.

p. 71, l. 10. *Garasoun*.—Guérin mentions a convent of Saint Gerasime in the plain of Jericho (*Terre Sainte*, ed. 1897, p. 262). Is this the source of d'Outremeuse's strange spelling?

p. 71, l. 17. *hill of Aygues*.—H.: montaignes. The Englisher misread *n* as *u*, mistook the second syllable for a proper name, and translated "mont" as "hill"! Boldensele: Nunc Sebaste dicitur et multum assimilatur civitati sanctae in situ (p. 69).

p. 71, l. 18. *of the .xij. tribes*.—Boldensele: In hac fuit caput et sedes regni 10 tribuum (p. 69). H.: x. tribuitz. The mistake may be the Englisher's or the copyist's.

p. 71, l. 20. *Iohn the Baptist*.—Vincent de Beauvais and the *Golden Legend*, c. cxxiv., may be the sources.

p. 71, l. 21. *Abdyan*.—Abdias in the *Golden Legend*.

p. 71, l. 22. *Macharyme*.—Macheron by the Dead Sea.

p. 71, l. 26. *askes in the wynd*.—According to Ernoul's *Itinéraire*, this is the reason why children used to burn bones on St. John's eve.

p. 71, l. 30. *in to the hill*.—The *Golden Legend*, written by an Italian, says that the finger was carried beyond the Alps and laid down in St. Martin's Church [at Tours?]. Sir G. Warner refers to Eugesippus and John of Würzburg, who state that St. Thecla conveyed it to Maurienne among the Alps of Savoy. A virgin called Tecla figures in the epic cycle of Charlemagne, Paris: *Hist. poét. de Charlemagne* (1905), p. 280. *Oeuvres de St. Charlemagne*, t. II., col. 1366, in vol. 98 of Migne. The original French reading of d'Outremeuse is doubtful. It may be: entre les Alpes, or outre les Monts, or outre les Alpes, or entre les Monts. The close of this sentence was linked up by the Englisher with the beginning of the next. H.: A Sebaste, en celle lieu mesmez, soloit auoir vne bele esglise.

p. 71, l. 34. *in the wall*.—Sir G. Warner states that the head is reported to have been immured, not at Samaria, but in Herod's palace at Jerusalem. He quotes the *Cursor Mundi*:

Here nu quat Herodias did ;  
In a wall his heued sco hid.

(p. 758, ll. 13228-9.)

p. 71, l. 35. *cloth all bloody*.—According to the *Golden Legend*, the head was wrapped in a cloth of imperial purple, and taken to Rome.

p. 72, l. 3. *hundred ordres*.—H.: noinaignes cordelers, i. e. nonains cordelières, i. e. Franciscan nuns. The Englisher read the initial c. as a numeral, and the latter part of the word as [monastic] orders! Mistranslation!

Ibid. *broylly*.—H.: bruille, ensi qe demy ars, i. e. charred, like half burnt. Brûlé seems to be confused with brouillé. A verb bruillir occurs in Godefroy, meaning: être brûlé.

p. 72, l. 7. *be Popes*.—An obvious piece of impertinence.

p. 72, l. 10. *at Gene*.—The *Golden Legend* says that the ashes are at Genoa.

p. 72, l. 11. *Sarazynes also*.—A piece of flippancy characteristic of d'Outremeuse.

p. 72, l. 16. *holt him apayd*.—Neither Dr. Bovenschen, who suspects "oral tradition" as the source of this passage, nor Sir G. Warner has pointed to the impudence of such jokes against the Papacy and against the worship of relics.

p. 72, l. 19. *chaungeth his colour*.—Both commentators give Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 13, 8 (Migne, lxxxii., 483), and Jacques de Vitry, c. lxxxv., p. 166, as the sources. We may suspect a sly intention in the collocation of this miracle with those worked by St. John's relics.

p. 72, l. 21. *Samaritanes*.—Boldensele: Hi nec legem Christianorum aut Judaeorum aut Saracenorum, sed nec paganorum sectantur, sed unum Deum dicentes, opiniones, ritus colendi ac modos vivendi mirabiles tenent, se solos reputantes de numero salvandorum. Et etiam in habitu ab aliis distinguuntur quia, cum in his partibus habitantes generaliter involvant capita linteis longissimis, Christiani quidem flavis, Sarraceni albis, Judæi glaucis, horum capita rubeis involvuntur; et se dicunt Dei electissimos inter omnes (p. 69). The only change from this introduced in the *Mandeville* is that in the colour of the turban: Christians wear yellow in Boldensele, and Jews blue.

p. 73, l. 7. *From this contree*.—Follows Boldensele, with additions from Eugesippus.

p. 73, l. 16. *Cedar*.—Odoric, *De Terra Sancta*, 1864, p. 148:



Quinto miliario a Corrosaim est Cedar, civitas excellentissima, de qua in psalmo: Habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar (Ps. cxix., A.V. cxx. 5).

p. 73, l. 18. *Antecrist.*—Odoric, *De T. S.*: Mare autem Galileae sumit initium inter Bethsayda et Capharnaum, et terminatur Corrosaim, in qua nutrietur Antichristus. De hiis duabus civitatibus ait Jesus: Ve tibi, Betsayda, ve tibi Corrosaim! (p. 148) (Matt. xi. 21; Luc. x. 13).

p. 73, l. 19. *Babyloyne.*—This reads like another attack on the Papacy and on the Roman Church, which was by heterodox sects of the Middle Ages called the impure Babylon of Revelation (Jundt *Le Panth.* 1875, p. 31). It agrees with Adso, see note to p. 25, l. 1.

p. 73, l. 22. *schal come a worm.*—Sir G. Warner knows no source for this. It may have been current among opponents of the Papacy.

p. 73, l. 23. *schall be norysscht.*—Pseudo-Methodius: Hic nascitur in Chorozaïm et nutrietur in Bethsaidam et regnavit in Chaparnaum et letabitur Chorozaïm, eo quod natus est in ea, et Chaparnaum ideo, quod regnaverit in ea. Propter hanc causam in euangelio Dominus tertio sententiam dedit dicens: Ve tibi Corozaim, ve tibi Bethsaida, et tibi Chaparnaum, si usque in celum exaltaveris, usque ad infernum discendes (p. 93 of Sackur's edition, 1898).

p. 74, l. 5. *+ his wif Canee.*—H.: et la femme Cananee. Mis-translation. Matt. xv. 22: a woman of Canaan.

p. 74, l. 7. *Architriclyn.*—Architriclinus, the governor of the feast, John ii. 8.

p. 74, l. 9. *mownt hendor or hermon.*—Endor is a town, and Hermon a mountain. But Endor was called a mountain in the early Itineraries. Boldensele refers to the hills of Gilboa. The author of *Mandeville* mixes up all his sources, as Dr. Bovenschen has shown in detail.

p. 74, l. 11. *Torrens Cison.*—Eugesippus: Supra Naim mons Endor, ad radicem cuius supra torrentem Raduinum, qui est Cison, etc. Judges v. 21: . . . that ancient river, the river Kishon.

*Ibid.* *sometyme was clept.*—H.: autrement est appelez. Mis-translation.

p. 74, l. 12. *Abymelech.*—Judges v. 1: Barak the son of Abinoam.

p. 74, l. 13. *with sone of Delbore.*—H.: ouesqe le filz Delbore. The article has been omitted by the copyist. D'Outremeuse seems responsible for the treatment of the Biblical narrative.

p. 74, l. 16. *zeb and zebée & Salmana*.—According to the *Pseudo-Methodius* (ed. Sackur, 1898) the leaders of the Ishmaelites in their fight against Israel were Orb, Zeb, Zebe and Salmana (p. 18 of Introduction, p. 68 of text). Psalm lxxxiii. gives the names Zeeb, Zebah and Zalmunna (v. 9–11); Judges c. vii.–viii.

p. 74, l. 28. *nouper dew ne reyn*.—Burchard archly remarks that David's curse did not stop the rain, for visiting the hills of Gilboa on St. Martin's day, he was soaked to the skin (ed. 1864, p. 52). The *Mandeville* never has such touches of homely truthfulness.

p. 74, l. 33. *Nazareth*.—Boldensele is followed and amplified from other sources.

p. 75, l. 10. *a lityll resceyt*.—H. : vn petit caseu. Godefroy, Dict. etym. *verbo* : cassel, casel, caissel explains the word as loge, logette, cahute, i.e. niche, box or recess. The readings of my two Brussels manuscripts are impossible. Boldensele: In hoc loco pulchra fuit ecclesia atque magna; sed heu! quasi destructa est; parvulus tamen locus est in ea coopertus et a Sarracenis diligentius custoditur, ubi circa quandam columnam marmoream asserunt veneranda conceptionis mysteria esse perfecta (pp. 71–72). D'Outremeuse irreverently converts the tabernacle where the Immaculate Conception is said to have taken place into a box for collecting the pilgrims' money!

p. 75, l. 24. *Sephor*.—Identified by Sir G. Warner with the modern Seffûrieh.

p. 75, l. 26. *lepe of oure lord*. The substitution of Our Lady is probably an oversight of the Cotton scribe's. Boldensele: Prope ad unum miliare locus est, qui Saltus Domini appellatur, ubi, cum Christus ductus esset, ut praecipitaretur de montis cacumine, ipse transiens per medium illorum ibat, evangelio attestante (p. 72). The additions are either from the "folklore of charms" (Sir G. Warner) or from d'Outremeuse's imagination. The reading of Brussels 10420–5 differs from H., and reads as follows, in modernised spelling: À demi-lieue de Nazareth est le Saut Notre Seigneur, car les Juifs le menèrent sur une haute roche pour le jeter aval, mais il connaissait bien leur male pensée, si passa parmi tous eux et saillit en une autre roche bien outre et dit l'Écriture: Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat. Et quiconque dit ce dit de la Sainte Écriture il peut passer sûrement parmi les larrons en ayant souvenance comment Notre Seigneur passa parmi les Juifs qui étaient les larrons et les brigands qui le voulaient faire mourir. Et



dit-on avec ces deux vers du psautier : Irruat, etc. Ces choses dit l'on trois fois et puis passe l'on sans péril.—Dr. Bovenschen remarks that the verses here ascribed to the psalter are from Gen. xv., xvi., where I could not find them.

p. 75, l. 29. *3it ben the steppes . . . sene.*—Not in the sources.

p. 76, l. 8. *.xv. 3eere old.*—*Golden Legend*, c. cxix.

p. 76, l. 14. *the scole of god.*—Boldensele : Ibi enim Christus frequenter discipulos docuit, arcana secretorum coelestium revelavit, ut ex hoc non immerito singularis schola Domini nuncupetur, etc. (p. 72).

p. 76, l. 19. *slayn Abymelech.*—H. : occis Amalech. Scribe's mistake.

p. 76, l. 26. *Lord it is gode.*—Matt. xvii. 4.

p. 76, l. 28. *Hic est filius.*—Matt. xvii. 5 : This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

p. 76, l. 31. *day of doom.*—No particular source known except the common belief of the Middle Ages.

p. 77, l. 8. *mount heremon.*—See note to p. 74, l. 9.

p. 77, l. 12. *sones.*—H. : le filz Zebedee et le filz Alphee.

p. 77, l. 24. *+ renneth.*—H. : Et court ly flum Iordan parmy, *i. e.* and the river Jordan flows through it. Mistranslation. Boldensele : Est autem hoc mare locus multum magnus, scilicet forsitan circa 30 miliaria in circuitu continens, per cujus medium fluvius Jordanis currit ; bonos habet pisces in magna copia, etc. (p. 73).

p. 77, l. 27. *gret brigge.*—Sir G. Warner has found this bridge mentioned in Ernoul (*Itinéraires*, p. 57).

p. 77, l. 31. *Traconye.*—H. : Traconyde, *i. e.* Trachonitis.

p. 77, l. 34. *Ienazareth.*—Genezareth.

p. 78, l. 1. *whan he began.*—H. : qi estoit auques noie dedeinz la mer, *i. e.* who was nearly drowned in the sea. Boldensele : dum in ipso mergi coepisset (p. 73).

p. 78, l. 3. *Modice fidei.*—Matt. xiv. 31 : O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?

p. 78, l. 6. *rowed.*—H. : nagea, an archaic use. Boldensele : In hoc mari saepe Dominus navigavit (p. 73).

p. 78, l. 9. *the table.*—The spot called Mensa is not a table, but, according to the *Survey* (I., p. 369), "a small artificial square plateau" outside (not in) the city of Tiberias (Sir G. Warner).

p. 78, l. 11. *Et cognouerunt.*—Luke xxiv. 35 : he was known of them in breaking of bread.

p. 78, l. 15. *an brennyng dart.*—*Les Pelerinaiges pour aller en Jherusalem* : A Thabarie est ly tysons que li Juif geterent apres

Nostre Seignor, quant lor monstra comment il devoient faire la tainture ; et le tison tint a .j. mur et crut maintenant en un grant arbre (*Itinéraires*, ed. 1882, p. 102). Odoric, *De Terra Sancta* (1864): Ubi accidit, quod, cum puer Jesus cum quodam cognato suo moram ibi traheret, commotus homo predictus arripuit facem ardentem, et post Jesum proiecit, volens eum percutere ; sed fax infixæ terræ in arborem crevit maximam, quæ usque in hodiernum diem flores et fructus producit (p. 147). See note to p. 45, l. 7.

p. 78, l. 20. *Saphor*.—Boldensele (73) writes Saphet, meaning the Crusading castle of Safed. D'Outremeuse confounds it with the Sephoris of p. 75, l. 24 (Sir G. Warner).

p. 78, l. 24. *Centurioes hous*.—This was at Capernaum (Matt. viii. 5).

p. 78, l. 25. *taken to tribute*.—H. : baille as tribuitz de Zabuloun et de Neptalim, *i. e.* granted to the tribes of Zabulon and Naphtali. Mistranslation.

p. 78, l. 31. *toward the north into the South*, slavishly translated from H. : vers bise iusques vers mydy. The right reading is in Brussels 11141 : de vers bise jusques vers midy, *i. e.* from north to south.

p. 78, l. 32. *+ of lengthe*.—H. : Et de large, *i. e.* And in width. Mistranslation.

p. 78, l. 34. *myle of lombardye*.—As the distances in the *Mandeville* are often incorrect or even fanciful, one may suspect a joke in his account of little miles and great miles. The length of the Holy Land is 180 miles in the *Mandeville*, 140 (variant 160) in Boldensele !

p. 78, l. 36. *prouynce of Almayne*.—H. : ne de Prouince ne Dalemaigne, *i. e.* nor of Provence, nor of Germany. Mistranslation.

p. 79, l. 2. *Cecyle*.—H. : Cilicie.

p. 79, l. 5. *west see*.—Boldensele's mare Mediterraneum. The list of Syrian provinces is shorter and less orderly than in Boldensele.

p. 79, l. 16. *senden hem þus*.—H. : les enuoient quere por porter lour lettres, *i. e.* the lords send for the pigeons to carry their letters. The Englisher seems to have read quar = car = therefore instead of querre = quérir = fetch. Mistranslation. The Crusading epic refers to the pigeon post of the Saracens. *Chanson de Jérusalem*, éd. Hippeau, 1868 :

A chascun colon soit la chartre au col fremée,  
Et par devant la gorge en la plume botée,  
Que Franchois n'es perchoivent, cele gent parjurée.  
(p. 101, ll. 2537-39).



Sir G. Warner refers to Foucher de Chartres, III. 47; Albert d'Aix, V. 9; R. de Aguilers, c. 19; Baudri, IV. 6; Jacques de Vitry, p. 1105. The Crusaders brought the pigeons down with arrows or hawks, read the messages, and dispatched the carriers with deceitful letters.

p. 79, l. 25. *seynt Iame conuerted hem*.—Sir G. Warner: "De Vitry rightly says that they had their name, not from St. James the apostle, but 'a quodam magistro suo dicto Jacobo cujusdam (Theodosii) Alexandrini patriarchae discipulo,' meaning Jacob al-Baradai, or Baradaeus, a monk of Constantinople in the sixth century, by whose energy the sect was organised; and he [viz. Jacques de Vitry] is responsible for the statement that saint John baptised them, only in so far as he incidentally mentions St. John *the Baptist* in speaking of the confession of sins." The whole trend of the *Mauleville's* argument is obviously as heterodox as was possible in his day. Auricular confession was often opposed by dissenters from Roman Catholicism. Jundt, *Histoire du panthéisme populaire au M.A.* (1875) quotes the Dominican Étienne de Belleville (1223) on the Vaudois: . . . "Ils enseignent qu'il suffit de confesser ses péchés à Dieu et que Dieu seul a le droit d'excommunier" (p. 31). In d'Outremeuse's own time, the Lollards were accused of denying confession to the priest:

Sed hoc Lollardi renuunt,  
Cum soli Deo instruunt  
Nostras culpas detergere.  
(Wright: *Political Poems and Songs*, I., 1859, p. 240).

p. 79, l. 27. *only to him*.—H.: qar a cely homme se doit rendre coupable contre qi il mesprint, *i. e.* for to him against whom one has trespassed should one avow one's guilt. Slight change of meaning.

p. 79, l. 32. *Confitebor*.—Ps. cxi. 1: I will praise the Lord with my whole heart. A formula repeated in ix. 1, and in cxxxviii. 1.

p. 79, l. 33. *Delictum meum*.—Ps. xxxii. 5: I acknowledged my sin unto thee.

p. 79, l. 34: *Deus meus*.—Ps. cxviii. 28: Thou art my God and I will praise thee.

p. 79, l. 35. *Quoniam cogitacio*.—Sir G. Warner refers to Ps. xciv. 11: The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man. This is not very near.

p. 80, l. 2. *Natheles seynt Austyn*.—H.: Et nientmoins seint Augustin et seint Gregory dient. Brussels 10420–5 (modernised): Et toutefois nous lisons en saintes écritures qu'aucuns des auteurs (B. 11141: autres) des saints hommes s'accordent à leurs opinions, si que saint Augustin, saint Grégoire, saint Hilaire. In the Brussels version, those Fathers of the Church are definitely pitted against the Papal doctrine of auricular confession.

p. 80, l. 4. *Qui scelera*.—Whoso ponders on his sins and feels converted, let him hold himself pardoned.

p. 80, l. 5. *Dominus potius*.—The Lord considers thoughts more than words.

p. 80, l. 6. *Longorum temporum*.—Sins committed long before perish in the twinkling of an eye once repentance is born in the heart.

p. 80, l. 15. *was first*.—H.: Et verite est qe ceste confessioun est primitiue et naturelle.

p. 80, l. 16. *seynt peter*.—H.: Mes ly seintz pieres apostoilles qi sunt depuis venez, *i. e.* But the Holy Fathers the Popes who have come since. Mistranslation. The French original opposes Scripture and the Primitive Church to the Papal authority.

p. 80, l. 21. *medicyne*.—Brussels 10420–5: Et ainsi ne peut-on donner penance convenable, qui ne sait la qualité [MS. quantité] du fait, *i. e.* Similarly, one can give no appropriate penance unless one knows the character of the deed. The Englisher has followed H. The orthodox conclusion of d'Outremeuse's unorthodox argument is from Jacques de Vitry, who inveighs against the Jacobites: *Pereunt ex defectu doctrinae, vulnera sua medicis spiritualibus abscondentes, quorum est inter lepram et lepram discernere, et peccatorum circumstancias pensando poenitentias iniungere, etc.* (quoted by Bovenschen, p. 263).

p. 80, l. 26. *Surienes*.—From Jacques de Vitry, c. lxxv., p. 138, and Haiton, c. 14.

p. 80, l. 29. *therf bred*.—H.: et font le sacrement dun pain leuez. Mistranslation.

p. 80, l. 32. *Georgyenes*.—From Jacques de Vitry, c. lxxx. p. 156.

p. 81, l. 3. *gyrt abouen*.—H.: ceintz par dessure. Burchard, *De Terra Sancta*, writes of the Syrians: *In habitu concordant cum Sarracenis, nisi quod tantum per cingulum laneum discernuntur* (ed. 1864, p. 89). Another derivation of the name is from Our Lady's Girdle, given to St. Thomas at the Assumption (D'Anglure,



*Le Saint Voyage*, ed. by Bonnardot and Longnon, S.A.T.F., 1878).

p. 81, l. 4. *Arryenes*.—No Arians appear among the sects of Medieval Palestine. D'Outremeuse brings them in.

p. 81, l. 5. *of Ynde t summe*.—H.: Yndiens, qi sont de la terre Preistre John, i. e. Indians who are of Prester John's land. Mistranslation.

p. 81, l. 7. *to othere þei ben varyaunt*, i. e. from others they vary.

p. 81, l. 21. *Helizeus Damascus*.—Eliezer (Genesis xv. 2). From Eugesippus and other Itineraries. Vincent de Beauvais, XXXII., c. 61. Most other data in the notice of Damascus are from Boldensele.

p. 82, l. 15. *Sardenak*—Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (1883), calls the monastery Sebedany, and places it in the Anti-Lebanon (p. 65), and reports similar stories from Our Lady's Church near Tripoli and from that at Tortosa (p. 66). Schefer, in his edition of *Bertrandon de la Broquière* (1892), gives the modern name as Sidnaya, the Medieval ones as Sardenay, Sardan, Sardenal and Notre-Dame de la Roche (p. 65). All the Itineraries report the miracle, which may be connected with the Jewish practice of anointing stone pillars with oil (Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14, etc.). See the miracle of St. Catherine, p. 39, l. 23.

p. 82, l. 20. *vout*.—H.: voute. Boldensele: In casali pulchro, quod sub monasterio est, Christiani scismatici commorantur, bono vino satis abundantes (77). D'Outremeuse seems to have read some such word as *cava*, *caverna*, vault, instead of *casale*, village!

p. 82, l. 24. *pat turneth into flesch*.—H.: qi se conuerty en char. The French convertit was probably meant as a preterite. Mistranslation.

p. 82, l. 26.—The account of the Tartars is from the *Historia Mongolorum* of the Franciscan Joannes de Plano Carpini, included in Vincent de Beauvais' encyclopedia.

Ibid. *eten houndes*.—*Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. Sackur, 1898: Comedebant enim hi omnes cantharo speciem omnem coinquinabilem vel spurcebilem, id est canes, mures, serpentes, etc. (pp. 72–73). Alexander asks God to enclose those impure nations between the Uber mountains.

p. 83, l. 8.—Batho (d. 1255), grandson of Yenghiz and khan of the Golden Horde (Orda) received Carpini's vi-it (Sir G. Warner).

He was dead when the *Mandeville* was written. Batho is mentioned by Hayton, p. 157 of 1906 ed.

p. 83, l. 11. *to sowen june*.—H.: Il serroit bon pais a semer de feuchore et de genest et des espines et de rounces, *i. e.* It would be a good country for sowing fern and broom and thorns and brambles. Mistranslation.

p. 83, l. 18. *Daresten*.—Sir G. Warner guesses at Dorostona or Drestra, the old name of Silistria. But the irresponsible d'Outremeuse may have thought of the Dur-Este of romance mentioned, *e. g.* in the *Chanson de Roland*. See note to p. 44, l. 33.

p. 83, l. 35. *Scleyes*.—H.: soleiez. Brussels 10420–5: seleis. Egerton: sleddes. The original reading probably was scleyes, cognate with esclisse = traîneau in the abridged edition of Godefroy, 1901. D'Outremeuse might know the Middle Flemish word sledde, slee = sledge. Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, t. II., 1880, gives the form sclite, meaning sledge.

p. 84, l. 18. *of here lawe*.—The word law was used in the Middle Ages with the meaning religion, especially of the Jewish, Christian and Saracen laws. Renan, *Averroès* (1866), p. 166.—In the Liégeois version of the Crusading cycle, the three are said to be equally false. Cornumarant says to Godfrey of Bouillon:

En tiere sont trois lois, il est bien vérités,  
Et chascuns est si bien en sa foi abusés,  
Juis et Sarrasin et les crestienés  
Que chascuns cuide en foi estre bien asenés.

(P. Paris, *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XXV., p. 533.)

p. 84, l. 21. *Meshaf*.—William of Tripoli, *De Statu Saracenorum*, ed. in Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzz*: Postquam dictum est de egressu Macometi et suorum, progressu eorum atque occasu, restat videre, quid sentiendum est de eorum lege seu libro Alcoranum, Meshaf seu Harine (c. xxv., p. 590).

p. 84, l. 27. *place of delytes*.—Will. Trip.: Locus deliciarum est, in quo quisque habebit nonaginta novem virgines delicatas, quibus omnibus fruetur omni die et semper inveniet illas illibatas et integras. Ad nutum etiam desiderii rami arborum fructum porrigent optatum ori comedentis, flumina lactis et mollis meri et liquidissime limphe deorsum defluent, menia et mansiones pro meritis singulorum assignabuntur singulis ex lapidibus preciosis edificate et ex auro precioso Ofir (Prutz, 596).

p. 85, l. 9. *crist spak als sone as he was born*.—Will. Trip.: The relatives of the Virgin ask: Quomodo loquitur infans in  
MANDEVILLE. G



cunabulis? Et ipse puer dixit: . . . Deus . . . me fecit benedictum prophetam (ed. Prutz, p. 593).

p. 85, l. 13. *The Angel*.—Will. Trip.: Et apparuit [Spiritus] ei [Mariae] in similitudine viri et dixit Maria territa: Invoco Deum misericordem, si tu es Taquius. (Glosa Sarracenorum: Taquius erat quidam incantator, qui subito intrabat super virgines et supprimebat eas speciosus et pulcher ut angelus.) Et dixit: Ego sum nuncius Dei tui: donabitur tibi filius innocens et purus (ed. Prutz, c. xxxii., p. 592). D'Outremeuse has followed this so closely that no conclusion is possible as to his own views on the Immaculate Conception. Dr. Bovenschen rightly points out that the gross calumnies of Medieval Christians against Islam and its founder, known to the author of *Mandeville* through Vincent de Beauvais, Jacques de Vitry, and other writings, have not been repeated here. Sir G. Warner explains the name Taquius as a mistranslation of a word in the Koran (Transl. Rodwell, 1876, p. 112).

p. 85, l. 24. *childed under a palme tre*.—Will. Trip., c. xxxiii.: Quomodo peperit [Maria] et natus eam consolatur.—Item in alio loco demonstrat [Alcoran] quomodo filium, quem conceperat, peperit et quomodo filius natus de ea matrem consolatur et dicit sic: Concepit Maria filium et abiit cum eo in locum longinquum et remotum. Et cum advenisset tempus partus, peperit sub palma. Et tunc dixit: O ut mortua fuisset, antequam hoc evenisset mihi et oblivioni fuisset tradita! Et mox natus de ea dixit: Ne tristeris, ait, posuit sub te Deus secretum. Trahe ad te ramum palme cum fructu et super te cadet fructus electus maturus; comede ex eo et bibe et esto leta (ed. Prutz, 592).—Montégut, *Heures de lecture d'un critique* (1891), maintains that these episodes bear a striking likeness to the story of the conception and birth of the enchanter Merlin (p. 308, fn.).

p. 86, l. 3. *full of c[h]aritee*.—The original reading, claritee, is correct. Will. Trip.: . . . evangelium, in quo est directio et lux et veritas (ed. Prutz, p. 594).

p. 86, l. 9. *Missus est Angelus*.—An Evangelium from Luke i. 26, often repeated in the liturgy, I am told by a learned Benedictine: "And in the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth."

p. 86, l. 19. *neuere crucifyed*.—William of Tripoli is more hostile to the Mahometans: Mendacium Sarracenorum et fabula de Christi morte et eius cruce. Dicunt hic glosatores Alcorani, quod

Judei non crucifixerunt Christum, set Judam proditorem, qui dum quereret magistrum suum in spelunca, ut caperetur, mutatus est vultus eius in faciem Jesu; quem ministri tollentes crucifixerunt, et idcirco dicunt, quod christiani non habent scientiam de Deo, quia dicunt Christum crucifixum ab impiis Judeis, qui non fuit crucifixus nec mortuus, sed vivus ascendit in celum iterum descensus. Item dicunt, quod Deus contra suam iusticiam egisset, si permisisset Christum innocentem occidi (ed. Prutz, pp. 594–595). This is the doctrine called Docketism, which was common among heretics both before and after d'Outremeuse's time. Ch. Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, II., 1849, pp. 36–37; A. Jundt, *Hist. Panth.*, 1875, p. 142.

p. 87, l. 2. *pei gon so ny oure feyth.*—Will. Trip.: ipsi sunt vicini fidei christiane (ed. Prutz, p. 596).—Et sic simplici sermone Dei, sine philosophicis argumentis sive militaribus armis, sicut oves simplices petunt baptismum Christi et transeunt in ovile Dei. Hoc dixit et scripsit, qui auctore Deo plus quam mille iam baptizavit (*ibid.*, p. 597–598).

p. 87, l. 6. *the lawe of Machomete schall fayle.*—Will. Trip.: Attrahit etiam eos ad veram fidem credulitas et quedam communis conceptio in cordibus omnium tamquam prescientia sita, quod doctrina Macometi et fides sit in brevi casura, sicut et Mosayce legis cultura et sola fides Christi cum populo christiano semper sit, quamdiu mundus durabitur, stabilis et mansura (ed. Prutz, p. 596).

p. 87, l. 8. *zif ony man aske.*—Will. Trip.: Si quis enim querat ab ipsis quenam sit fides eorum, nesciunt aliud dicere nisi hoc tantum: Credimus Deum creatorem omnium, diem iudicii, in quo remunerabuntur merita hominum, et vera esse, que Deus locutus est per ora sanctorum prophetarum omnium (ed. Prutz, p. 596).

p. 87, l. 16. *.ij. wyfes.*—Will. Trip.: Habeas uxores duas et tres et quatuor et ita usque ad novem, et concubinas, quot poterit emere dextera manus tua. Et si in oculis tuis displiceat uxor, trade ei libellum repudii et abire permittas (ed. Prutz, p. 596).

p. 87, l. 23. *.iij. persones.*—Will. Trip.: Mirantur, quando audiunt divine et deifice trinitatis mysterium, sine cuius cognitione non habetur de Deo vero vera scientia. Nam cum audiunt, quod Deus, quem colunt, ut aiunt, est creator coeli et terre et creaturarum omnium, qui creavit omnia ex nichilo verbo suo sibi coaeterno, concedunt gaudientes, quod Deus habeat verbum, per quod creata



sunt universa et sine ipso factum est nichil. Item cum audiunt, quod Deus, qui est verbalis, hoc est habens verbum, ut vivus et vita vitarum, vitam tribuens viventibus cunctis, in vita vivens, fons vite indeficiens, unde vitam hausit omnis creatura corporalis et spiritualis, concedunt Deum habere vitam sive spiritum, quem dicimus sanctum (ed. Prutz, p. 597).

p. 88, l. 4. *Moysees*.—Will. Trip.: Abraham est amicus Dei, Moyses autem prolocutor Dei, Jesus, Marie filius, verbum et spiritus Dei et Macometus est Dei nuncius. Inter quos quatuor Jesus verbum Dei est maior, cuius magnitudinis laudes et preconia monstrata sunt supra (ed. Prutz, p. 596).

p. 88, l. 9. *feyth as cristene men han*.—H.: loy parfite et foy solonc Cristiens. The French original is less orthodox than the English translation.

p. 88, l. 16. *ben pei repreued*.—H.: Et pur ceo sunt ils persecutours de veraiz sages, qi espiritalment lentendent, i. e. therefore they persecute the really wise, who understand it after the spirit. Mistranslation. The French original accuses the foolish infidels, who take Scripture literally, of persecuting the wise who interpret it aright. A heretic position.

p. 88, l. 18. *viuificat*.—Brussels 10420-5 adds: Mais qui lentent espiritalment, il la croit parfaitement.

p. 88, l. 19. *pei han defouled the lawe*.—Will. Trip.: . . . in hoc Sarraceni se preferunt Judeis et Christianis, quod dicunt, Judeos violasse legem et Christianos violasse evangelium, et se suum in sua virtute et integritate servasse divinum librum Alcoranum (ed. Prutz, p. 591).

p. 88; l. 23. *the Soulan tolde me*.—Dr. Bovenschen accepts this as truthful and autobiographical. Sir G. Warner looks upon it as fiction and compares it to the commonplaces of satirical literature in the Middle Ages. The sinfulness of Christians is dwelt upon in William of Tyre (see Caxton's *Godfrey of Bouillon*, E.E.T.S., 1893, p. 31). Prutz refers to Jacques de Vitry (I. 70, p. 128-129); to Guilelm. Neubrig. (III. 14); to Caesarii Heisterbac., *Dial. mirac.* (IV. 15 ed. Strange, I. 187-188), and to Ricoldus de Monte Crucis. Montégut instances the tale of the Jewish merchant in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (First Day, Tale Second). Gröber refers to a tale by Bosone da Gubbio (d. after 1345) as the source of Boccaccio (p. 11 of Gröber's *Introd. to Decameron*).

p. 88, l. 29. *zee cristene men*.—Brussels, 10420-5: voz gens.

Brussels 11141: vos prebstres. H.: voz flamynes. The latter two readings, containing an attack on the clergy, are obviously right, as opposed to the lewed peple of l. 31.

p. 89, l. 1. *fighten*.—H.: baretter, *i. e.* cheat. The MS. used by the Englisher probably read: battre.

p. 89, l. 4. *now swerded, now daggered*. Sir G. Warner gives variants:—S.: ore broudez ore contaillez. G.: ore broudes ore court taillies. Brussels, 10420–5: ou broisde ou contailles. Brussels 11141: broude puis decope et entretailie. We may guess that contaillé or entretailé means slashed, as a tailoring term. The Englisher probably thought of coutel, couteau, *i. e.* knife, and therefore introduced words derived from sword and dagger. Mistranslation.

p. 89, l. 19. *pat knowe we wel be oure prophecyes*.—De Reiffenberg, in his Introduction to Vol. II. of the romance of the *Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroi de Bouillon*, quotes Robert le Moine, where the soothsayer Calabre says: A centum annis et infra invenerunt patres nostri in sacris Deorum responsis et in sortibus et divinationibus suis et animalium extis, quod christiana gens super nos esset v̄entura nosque victura. Concordant super hoc aruspices, magi, arioli, et numinum nostrorum responsa et prophetarum dicta (pp. xl.–xli.). The fourteenth-century verse says:

Par forche conquereront la nostre mançon;  
Et prenderont ousay le temple Salemon.  
Vous en serés livrés à grant destrucion.

(p. 12, ll. 3650–3652.)

p. 89, l. 26. *contres of cristene kynges t princes*.—H.: des courtz des princez. Mistranslation.

p. 89, l. 27. *messangeres*.—Such a spying expedition is reported in the Crusading epics. Cantos xii.–xviii. of the romance of *Godefroi de Bouillon*, edited by Hippeau (1877), tell how King Cornumarant of Jerusalem comes to Bouillon as a palmer to survey the power of his future opponent Godfrey. The text edited by de Reiffenberg has a similar episode:

Or est Cornumarans par son fier hardement  
Passés deçà la mer, de quoy il se repent  
Pour véoir vostre estat et vo demainement.

(Vol. II., 1848, p. 55, ll. 4656–4658.)

p. 89, l. 29. *of clothes of gold*.—Brussels 10420–5: de musk. Can the Englisher have read damask and thus reached cloth? Mistranslation.



p. 90, l. 12. *Seynt Gabriell.*—Will. Trip.: . . . Macometus habens etatis vite 45 annos cepit dicere se esse prophetam Dei, Gabriele archangelo nunciante ei voluntatem divinam (ed. Prutz, p. 590).

p. 90, l. 14. *born in Arabye.*—Will. Trip.: puer videlicet orphanus, egrotativus, pauper et vilis, custos cameli, natione Arabs (ed. Prutz, p. 576).

p. 90, l. 19. *Eremyte*, the Nestorian monk Sergius, otherwise called Bahira, William of Tripoli's Bahayra.

p. 90, l. 21. *the entree began to wexe.*—Will. Trip.: Hic ponunt Sarraceni primum miraculum, quod Deus operatus est, ut dicunt, pro famulo suo adhuc parvulo, dicentes, quod parva porta curie monasterii, per quam transibant ad presentiam pueri, dum vellet intrare parvulus, ita divino nutu crevit dilatata et arcualiter exaltata est, ut curie imperialis videretur hostium aut introitus domus regie magestatis (ed. Prutz, p. 576). The same miracle occurs in the *Moniage Guillaume*, when William of Orange knocks at Bernard's door (Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I. 1908, p. 349).

p. 90, l. 26. *gouvernour & prince.*—H.: gouvernour de la terre al prince de Corodane, *i. e.* governor of the country of the prince of C. Mistranslation.—William of Tripoli calls the first husband of Khadidjah a wealthy merchant. D'Outremeuse raises him to princely rank. Sir G. Warner identifies Corodane as the name of Khorasan in the Crusading historians. Vincent de Beauvais (*Sp. Hist.*, l. 23, cap. xxxix.) writes of Eadiga, lady (domina) of Corozania.

p. 90, l. 30. *the grete sikeness.*—H.: de la grant maladie, ceo est de la caduke. Vincent de Beauvais: Post haec vero Machomet caepit cadere frequenter epileptica passione. Quod Eadiga cernens valde tristabatur, quod nupsisset impurissimo homini et epileptico. Quam ille placare desiderans, talibus sermonibus demulcebat eam dicens; quia Gabrielem Archangelum loquentem mecum contemplor, et non ferens splendorem vultus eius, utpote carnalis homo deficio et cado. Credidit ergo mulier, et omnes Arabes, et Ismahelitae, quod ex ore Archangeli Gabrielis illas susciperet leges, quas suis discipulis dabat, eo quod Gabriel Archangelus saepe a Deo mittatur hominibus sanctis (ed. 1524, p. 913).

p. 91, l. 2. *generacioun of ysmael.*—Will. Trip.: natione Arabs de genere Ysmaelis (ed. Prutz, p. 576).

p. 91, l. 4. *Ismaelytenes.*—Honorius, *Imago Mundi*, Migne,

Vol. CLXXII., col. 125 (lib. I., c. xv.), describing Western Asia: In ea sunt gentes multae, Moabitae, Ammonitae, Iduamaei, Sarraceni, Madianitae, et aliae multae. (Col. 126 c. xvii.): In hac [Palestina] etiam Sarraceni, a Sara dicti, qui et Agareni, ab Agar. Item Ismaelitae ab Ismael nuncupati.

p. 91, l. 9. *heremyte*.—Identical with the Eremyte of p. 90, l. 19, according to the legend. Our text seems to separate him into two.

p. 91, l. 14. *wente Machomete*.—Will. Trip.: Ad praedictum magistrum suum Bahayram frequentius veniebat et in veniendo et moram faciendo apud ipsum sodales gravabat, quem tamen ipse libenter audiebat et multa pro eo faciebat. Ob quam causam sodales cogitaverunt Bahayram interficere, sed timebant magistrum. Accidit igitur quadam nocte, ut gravati longa collatione, qua tenuit magistrum reclusus, cum cernerent magistrum tremulentum, pugione ipsius Machometi iugulaverunt virum sanctum nocte illa, imponentes eidem magistro, quod nimia ebrietate alienatus suum interfecerat magistrum et auctorem. Mane autem facto dum Machometus sanctum virum quaereret licentiam accepturus et dicturus vale, inveniens ipsum mortuum vehementer contristatus cepit quaerere homicidas, et cum argueretur a sodalibus tamquam auctor sceleris ebriosus, credens verum esse, quod dicebant, conscius quod ebrius exstiterat nocte illa et videns proprium gladium cruentatum, contra ebrietatem et vinum ebrietatis causam maledixit omnes vini portitores [potatores?] venditores et emptores, ob quam causam Sarraceni devoti vinum non bibebant nec bibunt Racabitaram more (ed. Prutz, p. 577).—This may be compared to the killing of Clitus by Alexander.

p. 91, l. 32. *Galamell*.—Sir G. Warner: For sugarcanes, "calamelli, calami pleni melle," and "canamellae, de quibus zucchara ex compressione eliquatur," see J. de Vitry (pp. 1075, 1099). They are noticed also by the crusading historians, e. g. Alb. of Aix (v. 37), "calamellos mellitos, . . . quos vocant zucra, suxit populus," and Will. of Tyre (xiii. 3). But though the canes and the sugar are mentioned, the drink is not. For the medicinal properties of sugar (it is gode for the breest) see Alb. Magnus, *De Veget.* vi. 37, "Lenit etiam pectus," etc. (ed. Jessen, p. 470).

p. 91, l. 36. *Archiflamyn*.—The Oxford English Dictionary, under flamen, writes that Geoffrey of Monmouth used archflamen and flamen to denote the two grades of alleged sacerdotal function-



aries in heathen Britain, whose place was afterwards taken by bishops and archbishops. Here, as in the variant quoted in our note to p. 88, l. 29, an ironical side-glance at the Roman hierarchy may be suspected. The words are not in William of Tripoli.

p. 92, l. 2. *La ellec*, etc.—Sir G. Warner gives the Arabic as: *Lâ ilâh illâ illâh, Muhammad rasûl allâh*. The formula is from William of Tripoli.

p. 92, l. 6. *here lettres*.—Sir G. Warner: This alphabet is found in the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus . . . it has strong affinities with the Slavonic alphabet known as Glagolitic.—According to Gaster (see note to p. 13, l. 12), many Medieval heresies were of East-European or Slavonic origin. See *Introd.*, pp. 21–22.

p. 92, l. 12. *þorn & ȝogh*.—H.: nous auons en nostre parleure en Engleterre deux lettres plus qils nount en lour a b c, cest assauoir þ et ȝ, qi sont appelez thorn et ȝogh. If, as the present editor believes, d'Outremeuse wrote the *Mandeville*, he would have learned the names and shapes of those two letters from a traveller, possibly from the English doctor Sir John Mandeville.

p. 95, l. 4. *the more & the less*.—H.: la moindre, i. e. Cairo. Babylon the Great was in Mesopotamia.

p. 95, l. 9. *.iiij. flodes*.—Only three are named.

p. 95, l. 12. *Persye*.—Ausfeld points to the form Persis (Persidis) as the name of a town [Persopolis?] (*Alex. Rom.*, 1907, p. 70).

p. 95, l. 17. *the grete see*.—A term applied to the Euxine in the Middle Ages (Sir G. Warner). See note to p. 170, l. 9.

p. 95, l. 21. *Thamy*.—The Tanaïs or Don.

p. 95, l. 23. *Albanye*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Albania est a colore populi nuncupata, eo quod albo crine nascantur. Haec ab oriente sub mari Caspio surgens, per ora oceani septentrionalis usque ad Maeotides paludes per deserta et inculta extenditur. Huic terrae canes ingentes sunt, tantaeque feritatis, ut tauros premant, leones perimant (*Sp. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxix., p. 26 of 1624 edition). According to a footnote to Dan. de Thaurisio's *Responsio ad errores impositos Hermenis* (ed. 1906, p. 593), the country of the Albanians, or Aghouans, comprises three parts: Armenia, Shirvan and Azerbeidjian.

p. 96, l. 3. *the see more high þan the lond*.—Jean d'Outremeuse, *Miroir des Hisoires*: Libe . . . la mere y est asseis plus grant et plus hault qui n'est la terre; et se soy sourtient dedens ses metes

en teile manere, qu'ilh ne chiet et ne gote sour la terre (Vol. I., 1864, p. 295). The fourteenth-century version of the *Chevalier au Cygne* places the high sea near Paradise :

Et puis le haulte mer qui paradix costie,  
Et la mist Dieu Adam et Ève son amie.  
(Vol. III., 1854, ll. 21769-21770.)

Compare Dante's hill of Paradise and Purgatory, arising in the midst of the Antipodean sea like Mandeville's mountayne, l. 6, of p. 96 (John of Hildesheim, ed. 1878, p. 30).

p. 96, l. 20. *Pountz*, Pontus Euxinus or the Black Sea. Here d'Outremeuse begins to follow friar Odoric's account of his travels in the East.

p. 96, l. 23. *Quicumque vlt*, the first words of the Athanasian Creed, which is not now believed to be by Athanasius. The story of his quarrel with the Pope, described by Sir G. Warner as highly fanciful, really contains one more attack upon the Papacy.

p. 97, l. 7. *old castell*.—Brussels 10420-5: j chastel ancien dont les meurs sont pres tous couers de eder que nous appelons ivy et siet sur vne roche, *i. e.* an old castle, the walls of which are nearly all covered with ivy, which we call [in English] ivy, and which stands on a rock. The fiction of an English authorship is again supported by the introduction of an English word.

p. 97, l. 9. *Layays*.—Laias, modern Laiazzo, Pharsipee, modern Perschembé, and Cruk, modern Korgho or Guiaourkeui, all lie in Cilicia, or Little Armenia, on the Mediterranean coast, right away from Trebizond on the Black Sea. Hayton of Armenia, an author familiar to d'Outremeuse, had been a lord of Cruk.

p. 97, l. 13. *lady of fayrye*.—The lady Melior, sister of Melusine, in the romance of that name, written down 1387, after d'Outremeuse had finished the *Mandeville*, and edited in 1891, for the E.E.T.S., by A. K. Donald.

p. 98, l. 4. *sone of a pore man*.—This part of the tale is not included in the romance of *Melusine*, nor is the knyght of the temple of l. 10.

p. 98, l. 21. *Artyroun*.—Odoric: Et de la m'entournay en Armenie la grant qui a nom Artiron. Ceste cité est moult bonne et riche et seroit encore plus se ne feussent Tartre et Sarrazin qui la ont destruite car on y treuve encore pain et char et tous autres vivres en tres grant habondance fors de vins et de fruit. Ceste cité est moult froide car les gens dient qu'elle sciet au plus hault



terroir qui soit aujourduy habité. En ceste cité a moult bonnes eaues, et est la cause car cestes eaues du fleuve de Euffrates qui cuert a vne journée pres de ceste cité a my voye de Trapesonde et la cité de Thoris (ed. Cordier, 1891, pp. 5-6).

p. 98, l. 24. *pat maketh gret cold.*—H.: et si fait grant froide, *i. e.* it is very cold. Gallicism.

p. 98, l. 27. *a iorneye besyde pat cytee.*—H.: a vne iournee pres de celle cite, *i. e.* a day's travelling from that city. Mis-translation.

p. 98, l. 28. *vnder erthe.*—This marvel is not in Odoric. It is a duplicate of what d'Outremeuse had written about the Nile (p. 28, l. 10).

p. 98, l. 29. *resorteth.*—H.: resourt, *i. e.* rises again, from sourdre. Mistranslation.

p. 98, l. 31. *Sabissocolle.*—Odoric: Sabissa colloasseis, explained by Cordier as Hassan-kaleh, east of Erzerum (pp. 6 and 15).

p. 98, l. 32. *Ararath.*—Vincent de Beauvais, *Sp. Nat.*, l. VI., c. xxi., col. 383 of 1524 ed.: Ararat est mons Armeniae, in quo Arcam historiae post diluuium resedissee testantur, unde et usque hodie ibidem lignorum eius videntur vestigia (from Isidore).

p. 98, l. 33. *Taneez.*—Brussels 10420-5: chano. Cordier quotes from Chardin I., p. 219: Ce mont [Ararat] a encore deux autres noms dans les livres persans, savoir Cou-nouh, c.à.d. Mont-Noé, et Sahet-toppus, c.à.d. heureuse butte. Sir I. Gollancz drew my attention to the identity of the first component with the Persian word koh = mountain, *e. g.* in Koh-i-Noor = mountain of light. Daniel de Thaurisio calls Ararat mons Noe. His commentators summarise the legend of a monk James, who tries to ascend to the top, but falls asleep on the way, and finds himself at his starting-point again when he awakes. After several fruitless attempts, an angel tells him that God takes pity on him and gives him a piece of the ark, which was first preserved in St. James's monastery, and is now at Etchmiadzin (Dan. de Th., 1906, p. 592).—Prof. C. F. Brown quotes from Cleanness:

On þe mounte of Mararach of Armene hills,  
þat oper-wayez on ebrv hit hat þe thanes.

(ll. 447-8, quoted in *Author of Pearl*, 1904.)

The author of Cleanness probably followed the *Mandeville*, while d'Outremeuse may have obtained his Persian word from some

Jewish source, oral or written (John of Hildesheim, ed. 1878, p. 26).

p. 99, l. 4. *nouper somer ne wynter*.—H. : et en estee et en yuer, *i. e.* both in summer and in winter.

p. 99, l. 8. *of the montayne*.—Here the French MSS. insert the legend of the monk as in ll. 10–20.

Ibid. *Dayne*.—Sir G. Warner: The ruins of Ani, once the capital of Armenia, are about sixty miles north-west of Ararat, near Kars. Its thousand churches are mentioned by Rubruk in 1253 as then existing (p. 389); but the whole city was destroyed by earthquake in 1319 (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, 1818, I., pp. 111–114).

p. 99, l. 9. *Any* is a mere duplicate of *Dayne*, according to d'Outremeuse's familiar method.

p. 99, l. 21. *Thauriso*.—Odoric: Thoris . . . jadis ot nom Faxis autres dient Sussis (ed. Cordier, 1891, p. 19).

p. 99, l. 37. *gode ryueres*.—Odoric only mentions good water. D'Outremeuse adds the rivers and ships!

p. 100, l. 2. *Cassak*.—Odoric: . . . cité des trois roys. . . . Et appelle on ceste cité de Cassan, cité royal de grant honneur, mais Tartre l'ont moult destruite. Cordier hesitates between Qaschân, three days from Ispahân and four from Ardistân and Sawah = Saba, mentioned in Marco Polo and lying between Soldania and Yezd (ed. 1891, pp. 41–42).

p. 100, l. 9. *Geth*.—Sir G. Warner hesitates between Yezd and a place immediately to the north of Ispahan, now called Gez.

p. 100, l. 10. *gravely see*.—Mentioned again as in Prester John's land on p. 181, ll. 19–29.

p. 100, l. 12. *clepen flessch pere Dabago*, etc.—Brussels 10420–5: La appellent ilz la char dalbago et le vin vape. So in B. 11141. H. has Dabago and Vapa. Sir G. Warner, following the Egerton MS., which omits all mention of wine and meat, tries to interpret these two words as place names. But vappa is only the Latin for flat wine, as in Massinger's *Believe as you list*:

. . . . . Your viper wine,  
So much in practice with grey-bearded gallants,  
But vappa to the nectar of her lips.

(Act IV, Scene 1.)

As for dalbago, it bears some resemblance to albacore, explained in the Oxford English Dictionary as meaning a certain fish, and



derived from Arabic al + bukr, pl. bakārat, a young camel, a heifer.

p. 100, l. 17. *Cornaa*.—Cordier's *Odoric* has seven variants, and identifies the site with Istakhr, the ancient Persepolis (pp. 49-50), where Yule notes a modern name, Kinara.

p. 100, l. 23. *lettres of Persaynes*.—The French texts and Egerton give another alphabet here. Sir G. Warner identifies it as "given by J. G. Eccard, *De origine Germanorum libri duo*, 1750, pl. IV., p. 192, from an unspecified MS. at Ratisbon, said to be of the eleventh century. It there professes to be Chaldaic. This MS. also contains six other alphabets; and it is significant that among them, in addition to the Hebrew, is included the so-called Egyptian alphabet of Mandeville."

p. 100, l. 29. *Sweze*.—Sueta in Eugesippus (p. 994) lies below Damascus.

Ibid. *Theman*, also in Eugesippus.

p. 101, l. 1. *Are of Gosra*.—Brussels 10420-5: are de bosra. Sir G. Warner: For the account of Job, identified with "Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah" (Gen. xxxvi. 33), see Isidore, *De ortu et obitu Patrum*, cap. 24 (Migne, lxxxiii., 136).

p. 101, l. 5. *after his lawe*.—A hint that one religion is as good (or as bad) as another. John of Hildesheim writes that it is a moot point among the Jews how the Lord could praise Job, though he was but a Gentile (ed. Köpke, 1878, p. 10).

p. 101, l. 9. *to heere estate*.—H.: et a hautesse de rechief, i. e. and to high estate again. Mistranslation.

p. 101, l. 15. *Manna*.—Odoric: La treuve on le manne meilleur et en plus grant habondance que en nulle partie du monde (p. 59-60). The rest is from Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, 1624, l. IV., cc. lxxxiv.-lxxxv.: Manna est ros cadens super lapidem aut arborem et fit dulcis et coagulatur, sicut mel . . . visum acuit, pulmoni confert, et renibus ac vesicae. . . . Et est bonum stomacho et epati . . . laxat ventrem . . . habet autem virtutem depurandi et mundificandi sanguinem (col. 285-286).

p. 101, l. 20. *congeleth*.—H.: se coagule = coagulates.

p. 101, l. 25. *Caldee*.—Odoric: De la vins en Caldée, qui est uns grans royaume. Si passai par la terre de Babel qui est à iiii. journées près de Caldée. En ceste Caldée ont leur propre langaige des gens du pays (p. 63).

p. 101, l. 26. *gret in sownynge*.—This praise of the Chaldaean language is not in Odoric. No source has been traced for it.

p. 101, l. 31. *In pat reme*, etc.—H. : En le roialme de Caldée sont ly hommes belles et vont mult noblement parez ouesqez creuechiez dorrez, et lour draps auxi sont aoernez des orfraies et des grossez perlez et de pieres precieuses mult noblement. Similarly, the two Brussels MSS. Meaning: In the kingdom of Chaldea, men are fair and go most nobly arrayed, with gilded head-dresses, and their garments also are adorned with orphreys and large pearls and precious stones very nobly. The Englisher has not translated *couvre-chefs*, i. e. coverchiefs, kerchiefs. Odoric: Les hommes y sont beaux et les femmes laides. La vont les hommes aournez ainsy que cy vont nos femmes et portent sur leurs chiefs d'or clos et chappeaux de perles (p. 63).

p. 101, l. 35. *large wyde*.—The French original has only large, which the Englisher preserves along with its proper equivalent: wide.

p. 102, l. 4. *Hur*.—Jean d'Outremeuse, *Miroir des Histoires*: Tharé le pere Abraham le patriarche . . . vient . . . demoreir en la terre de Caldée, en une citeit c'on nommoit Hur, qui est a dire en franchois Feu. . . . Astoit roy de Asserie Nynus, liqueis fondat en sa terre marchissant à la thour de Babel, une mult belle citeit . . . Nynyve (Vol. I., 1864, p. 10). The ultimate source is Gen. xi. 27–xii. 6.

p. 102, l. 22. *here after*.—Both the Brussels MSS. and some of those used by Sir G. Warner here insert an alphabet, not recognisable to that learned palaeographer.

p. 102, l. 23. *Amazoyne*.—The story of the Amazons is an episode of the Medieval epic cycle of Alexander. Dr. Bovenschen refers especially to the *Historia de preliis* of the archpriest Leo. The French romance of *Alexander* and Gautier de Châtillon's (*alias* Gautier de Lille's) Latin poem of *Alexandreis* are a more likely source.

p. 102, l. 26. *wommen wil not suffre no men*.—Bovenschen (p. 279) quotes the Letter of Prester John, ed. Zarncke: Mariti praedictarum mulierum non morantur cum eis nec audent ad eas venire nisi statim vellent mori. Statutum est enim, quod quicumque vir intraverit praedictam insulam ipso die morietur.

p. 102, l. 30. *Colepeus*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*: Duo reges juvenes Ylinos et Scolopitus . . . per insidias trucidantur; quorum uxores, arma sumentes, viros, qui domi remauseant, interficiunt: tunc armis pace quaesita finitimorum concubitus ineunt. Mares, qui nascebantur, interficiunt, virgines reservant,



quas non lanificio, sed armis et equis et venationibus assuefaciunt inustis infantium dexteris mammis, ne sagittarum ictus impediatur. His duae fuere reginae, Marthesia et Lampeto vicissim terminos defendentes (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. xcvi., p. 36, ed. 1624).

p. 102, l. 33. *as creatures out of wytt*.—H.: come desesperez.

p. 103, l. 3. *male scholde duell*.—H.: ne qenfant madl fuist norry entre elles.

p. 103, l. 5. *pei drauen hem*.—Gautier de Châtillon narrates the loves of Alexander and the queen of the Amazons, named Thalestris:

. . . . Visendi succensa cupidine regis  
Gentis Amazoniae venit regina Thalestris  
Castraque virginibus subiit comitata ducentis.

. . . .  
Laeva papilla manet et conservatur adultis,  
Cuius lacte infans sexus muliebris alatur.  
Non intacta manet, sed aduritur altera, lentos  
Promptius ut tendant arcus.

. . . .  
Se venisse refert, ut pleno ventre regressa  
Communem pariat cum tanto principe prolem

. . . .  
. . . . Fuerit si femina partu  
Prodit, maternis potietur filia regnis:  
Si mas exstiterit patri reddetur alendus.

. . . .  
. . . . tandem pro munere noctem  
Ter deciesque tulit.

(*Alexandreis*, ed. Mueldener, 1863, l. VIII., ll. 8-47, pp. 173-174.)

The distinction made between aristocratic girls, who lose the left breast, and the infantry, who lose the right, seems a characteristic duplication, imagined by d'Outremeuse.

p. 103, l. 29. *Tarmegyte*.—Sir G. Warner refers to Brun. Latini, who locates Termegite east of the Caspian (l. 4. 123, p. 158). He identifies it with Alexandria Margiana, now Merv, the foundation of which is attributed also to Seleucus.

p. 103, l. 36. *est partie t in the meridionall partie*.—Isidore: Duae sunt autem Aethiopiae, una circa solis ortum, altera circa occasum in Mauretania (*Etym.* XIV. 5, 16-17, quoted by Boverschen). Isidore's west becomes the *Mandeville's* south through carelessness.

p. 104, l. 4. *a well*.—Honorius d'Autun: Apud quos [Garamantes] est fons tam frigidus diebus, ut non bibatur; tam fervidus

noctibus, ut non tangatur (*Imago Mundi*, Migne, 172, l. I., c. xxxiii.). Vincent de Beauvais: fons qui friget calore dici, et calet frigore noctis (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXII., c. xv., 1524).—Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires* improves upon this: ilh at une fontaine en Egypte mult mervelheux qui chandelles esprise estindent, et les estintes respresent (Vol. I., 1864, p. 294). In the Arthurian romances, the Duke of Bellegarde having struck off King Lancelot's head, it falls into the brook. When the Duke dips his hand into the water, which had been very cold, it begins to boil with such violence, that he hardly has time to withdraw his fingers, which are burning to coal (P. Paris: *Romans de la Table Ronde*, l., 1868, p. 351).

p. 104, l. 16. *folk pat han but o foot*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Legimus Monosculos quoque ibi [in India] nasci, singulis cruribus et singulari pernecitate, qui ubi defendi se velint a calore, resupinati plantarum suarum magnitudine inumbrentur (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. xciii., p. 34, ed. 1624).

p. 104, l. 20. *pei ben all zalowe*.—H.: ils sont totes chanuz, i.e. white-haired. Can the Englisher have read jaune? Mis-translation.

p. 104, l. 21. *pat zalowness turneth*, etc.—H.: ils ont les cheueux touz noirs. The Englisher seems to have mixed up cheueu and chenu.—Vincent de Beauvais: Apud Ctesiam legitur feminas semel parere, natosque canos illico fieri. Esse rursum gentem alteram, quae in juvenia cana sit, in senectute nigrescat, ultra aevi nostri terminos perennantem (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. xciii., p. 34, ed. 1624).

p. 104, l. 26. *Emlak*.—H.: Euilac, i.e. the Havilah of Gen. ii. 11.

p. 104, l. 31. *the water becometh Cristall*. Vincent de Beauvais: Traditur, quod sit [chrySTALLUS] nix glacie durata per annos (*Spec. Nat.* l. VIII., c. lxii., col. 525, ed. 1524).

p. 104, l. 33. *zalow Cristall*, etc.—H.: cristal ianuastre trehant a colour doile, i.e. yellowish crystal, the colour of which is like that of oil. Mistranslation.

p. 105, l. 1. *Arabye*.—Vincent de Beauvais has a similar list of four kinds of diamond: Indian, Arabic, Macedonian and Cyprian (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xl., col. 514, ed. 1624).

p. 105, l. 7. *out of gold*.—Vincent de Beauvais: In metallis repertus est auri modo, nec nasci videbatur nisi in auro (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xxxix., col. 513, ed. 1624).



p. 105, l. 19. *male + femele*.—Sir G. Warner quotes from a Lapidary edited by Pannier, *Les Lapidaires français*, 1882 :

Inde Arrabe est mere et mamele  
 Dou dyamaunt, masle et femele.  
 D'Ynde li brun d'uel coulor  
 Sont li droit masle et li millor ;  
 D'Arabe sont li blanc femeles,  
 Bones sont, ne sont pas si beles.

(p. 283.)

Union pearls are begotten in that way according to Vincent de Beauvais : Naturaliter tamen aperit se contra rorem caeli, ipsumque in se recipit, et continet tanto tempore, quanto mulier foetum gestat in utero suo (*Spec. Nat.* l. VIII., c. cvii.).

p. 105, l. 20. *dew of heuene*.—Vincent de Beauvais reports this of pearls, not of diamonds : Gignitur autem de caelesti rore, quem certo anni tempore conchae hauriunt (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. lxxxi., col. 534).

p. 105, l. 22. *I haue often tymes assayed*.—Probably a hit at the alchemists.

p. 105, l. 26. *congeleth*.—H. : se congree et fait et soy engrosse, *i. e.* joins and acts and grows pregnant. Mistranslation.

p. 105, l. 30. *on his left syde*.—Vincent de Beauvais : gestatus in lacerto sinistro (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xxxix., col. 513).

p. 105, l. 31. *the strengthe of here growynge*.—H. : la force de lour naissance vient deuers septentrion, *i. e.* the strength of their nativity comes from the North. Mistranslation.

p. 105, l. 33. *+ the left partie of man is*, etc.—H. : la sinistre partie de homme, quant il tourne sa face vers orient, *i. e.* the North is on the left side of man when he faces East (as Medieval maps are oriented).

p. 106, l. 2. *hardyness*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Adamas fortem facit hominem contra hostem, somnia vana repellit, venenum fugat et prodit, fertur enim sudore madere si venenum adhibeatur prope, prodest lunaticis, ac daemone repletis. Ex contactu etiam prodesse dicitur insanis (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xxxix., col. 514, ed. 1624).

p. 106, l. 10. *sorwe + mischance*.—H. : luy sortilegies ou ly enchantementz, *i. e.* those bewitchings and enchantments. Mistranslation.

p. 106, l. 20. *violastres*.—Godefroy mentions violat, as a medicine or syrup made of violets. Egerton : of violet colour.

p. 106, l. 33. *I tarye my matere*.—H. : ieo proloigne ma matiere.

p. 107, l. 14. *the ademand draweth not the nedle*.—Vincent de Beauvais: [Adamas] cum magnete lapide dissidet intantum ut juxta positus ferrum non patiat<sup>ur</sup> trahi a magnete, aut (si admotus magnes ferrum comprehenderit) rapiat atque auferat (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xxxix., col. 513, ed. 1624).

p. 107, l. 24. *Eles of .xxx. fote long*.—Medieval geographers and romancers place these in the Ganges. Sir G. Warner refers to the Romance of Alexander in Weber's *Metrical Romances* (1810, I., p. 202); Bovenschen to Honorius, I. 12, etc.

p. 107, l. 26. *.v. M. Iles*.—Vincent de Beauvais: In India traduntur fuisse quinque millia oppidorum praecipua capacitate, populorum 9000. Diu etiam credita est tertia pars terrarum, nec mirum sit, vel de hominum, vel de urbium copia, cum soli Indi nunquam a natali solo recesserint (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxiii., p. 24).

p. 107, l. 27. *pat men duellen in*.—H.: En Ynde et enuiroun Ynde sont pluis de v. mil isles habitables, bones et grandes, sanz colles qui sont inhabitables; *i. e.* In and about India are over five thousand inhabitable isles, good and large, without those that are uninhabitable. Mistranslation.

p. 108, l. 3. *pei neuere gon out*.—Besides the preceding quotation from Vincent de Beauvais, this is stated in Alexander's last epistle to Didimus: quia mutare patriam vestram non valetis, laudatis (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. lxxi., p. 136, ed. 1624).

p. 108, l. 6. *firste clymat*.—Medieval geographers divided the inhabited part of the Northern hemisphere into seven climates, and both the Liégeois d'Outremeuse and the Englishman Mandeville lived in the seventh. Sir G. Warner quotes Barth. de Glanville: For, as Ptholomeus saythe, the moone maketh a man unstable, chaungeable and remeuyng aboute fro place to place (VIII., 29, 30 ff., 129, 131). In Roger Bacon's *Metaphysica*, ed. Steele, the house of Jupiter, the ninth, "est peregrinacionum atque itinerum," etc. The moon is the house of mendacity! (p. 49). D'Outremeuse's astronomical geography seems made up of ill-digested recollections.

p. 108, l. 22. *Crues*.—Here Odoric is followed again. One of the variants there for Hormuz is Ornez, the source for the *Mandeville's* distortion of the name (c. ix., p. 69 of Cordier's edition).

p. 108, l. 29. *oynementes*.—H.: oignement restrictif et refrigeratif. Such medical jokes may be adduced as arguments for the authorship of the English doctor Mandeville.

MANDEVILLE.

H



p. 108, l. 31. *in ryueres*.—Bovenschen, p. 285 : the letter of Alexander to Aristotle, ed. Alexander Achillinus, 1516, reports that the people of Ormuz escape from the heat by spending the day in the water up to their chins.

p. 109, l. 1. *schippes withouten nayles*.—The *Mandeville* appears to stand alone in explaining this method of shipbuilding from the vicinity of the loadstone rocks, placed by Vincent de Beauvais on the shore of the Indian Ocean (*Spec. Nat.*, viii., 21). They also appear in the romance of Ogier le Danois, dear to Jean d'Outremeuse (Child, *Popular Ballads*, I., 1882, p. 319); in *Huon de Bordeaux* (E.E.T.S. 1882-4, p. 370); in *Herzog Ernst* (ed. Bartsch, p. cxlviii., etc.).

p. 109, l. 40. *Chana*.—Identified by Cordier with Marco Polo's Thana, now Thána or Tanna, in the island of Salsette and in the Presidency of Bombay (p. 89 of Cordier's *Odoric*).

p. 109, l. 13. *ouercomen it*.—Brussels, 10420-5 : *apeticie*; Brussels 11141 : *apeticee* = modern *rapetissée*, made smaller. Mistranslation.

p. 109, l. 16. *worschipe the sonne*.—In Vincent de Beauvais, St. Thomas of India, a favourite hero of d'Outremeuse's, is ordered to worship a golden statue of the sun (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IX., c. lxxvi., p. 345, ed. 1624). Hayton writes of the Chinese : La creance de ceste gent est molt diverse, car aucuns croient es ydoles de metal, autres croient en le solail, autres en la lune, autres es esteiles, autres es natures, au feu, autres à l'ève, autres a arbres, autres a bues; por ce que laborent la terre dont il vivent; et aucuns ne ont point de loi, ne de creance, ains vivent come bestes (*Flor des Estoires*, ed. 1906, l. I., c. i., p. 121).

p. 109, l. 20. *symulacres & ydoles*.—Sir G. Warner and Bovenschen point to a similar distinction in Isidore, *Etym.*, VIII., xi., 4-14. But the *Mandeville* seems more logical in contrasting natural and unnatural or monstrous images.

p. 109, l. 25. *.iiij. hedes, on of man, etc.*—H. : *vne ymage a iiij. testes, ou vn homme a teste dun chiual, etc.* The French original opposes many-headed figures, like the ones seen in India, to those with heads of animals, as in Egypt. The Englisher collects the heads of several species on one trunk. Mistranslation.

p. 109, l. 28. *sum worthi man*.—Euhemerism is here carried so far as to justify idolatry.

p. 109, l. 31. *god of kynde*.—Haiton also tries to reconcile idolatry and monotheism : Et por ce que les habiteors de celes

contrees estoient touz ydolatres, les Tartars comencierent aorer les ydoles ; mes tout ades confessoient le Deu immortel, plus grant que les autres (*l'lor des Est.*, 1906, p. 157).

p. 110, l. 9. *the ox is þe moste holy best.*—Was d'Outremeuse thinking of the worship of the golden calf?

p. 110, l. 13. *god of an ox*, etc.—Odoric : Les gens de ce pais aurent une autre ydole laquelle ilz paignent la moitié homme et l'autre moitié beuf (p. 101).

p. 110, l. 20. *gode meetynge.*—These general remarks on omens and superstition have not been traced to any single source. Jacques de Vitry writes that some Orientals worship the first thing that they meet in the morning (Michaud, *Bibl. d. Cr.*, I., 1829, p. 170).

p. 110, l. 33. *foules of raveyne.*—In the romance of the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, Godfrey of Bouillon with one arrow kills three birds of prey flying, and thus saves two white doves from death. The quarry fall

Delés la sinagoge Mahom et Tervagant.

The Franks rejoice, and the paynim foresee their downfall.

p. 111, l. 4. *enformed & taught.*—H. : abeuerez = abreuvés.

p. 111, l. 17. *Chana.*—After his apology for unbelievers, d'Outremeuse returns to Odoric.

p. 111, l. 19. *als grete as houndes.*—Rats of the size of a large mastiff occur in *Gulliver's Travels* (ed. G. R. Dennis, Bell, 1905, p. 95).

p. 111, l. 25. *Sarchee.*—Sir G. Warner suggests Panche, fourteen days' journey from Tana, in one MS. of Odoric, corresponding to Jourdain de Séverac's Paroth (Baroach), p. 90 of Cordier's *Odoric*.

p. 111, l. 28. *lomb.*—Odoric's Poliobum [Polumbum], p. 84, identified with modern Quilon, on the coast of Malabar. See below, note to p. 112, l. 36.

p. 111, l. 29. *Combar.*—Odoric : La province ou le poivre croist a nom Minibar, et en nulle partie du monde ne croist poivre fors en ce pays. La forest ou il croist a bien xviii. journées de long. En ceste forest a deux nobles citez : l'une a nom Flandrine et l'autre Singulir (p. 99).

p. 112, l. 7. *Long peper, blak peper & white peper.*—Vincent de Beauvais : quae cum primo flores producit, flores in unum reducuntur, et constringuntur in longum, fitque piper longum, quod



macropiper dicitur. Postea producunt interius parvos fructus, qui leucopiper, idest piper album dicuntur, quia albi sunt. Efficacius est piper nigrum (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XIV., c. lxiv., col. 1051, ed. 1624). Quod incorruptum ab igne, piper album (*ibid.*).

p. 112, l. 8. *Sorbotym*.—There is no evidence connecting this with the radical of sherbet, French sorbet.

p. 112, l. 9. *Fulfull*.—According to Sir G. Warner, the common Arabic name, given by medical writers, such as Matth. Silvaticus.

p. 112, l. 20. *serpentes*.—That snakes feed on white pepper is twice stated in Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XX., c. xiii., col. 1468, ed. 1624 and *Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. lviii., p. 133, ed. 1624), once in connection with the Alexandrian legend. That fires are lighted near the pepper forest is from Isidore (*Etym.*, XVII., viii., 8). The refutation seems d'Outremeuse's own invention.

p. 112, l. 29. *pei enoynten*.—H.: Mes ils se oignent des peez et les mains del iutz de lymons et dautres choses, dontz ly serpentz doutent le odour, *i. e.* but they anoint their feet and hands with lime-juice and with other things, of which the snakes fear the smell. Instead of limon = lime, the Englisher understood limace = slug. Mistranslation.

p. 112, l. 36. *Polombe*.—Variants in Cordier's *Odoric*: Ploubir, Palombo, Colonbio, Plombum. Explained as Quilon, on the Malabar coast, called Koulam in Arabic (ed. 1891, p. 100).

p. 113, l. 1. *mountayne*.—Ogier the Dane visits this country according to Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires*: he finds a well springing under two fir-trees, which has the flavour of all spices, and is called the fountain of Youth. He drinks from it with all his people. It cures all ills that men may feel or suffer, unless there be death in them. The further adventures of Ogier also resemble the narrative in the *Mandeville* (Vol. III., ed. 1873, p. 58). A different version of Ogier's experiences at the Well is summarised in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, I., ed. 1883, p. 609. One of the cantos of the *Romance of Alexander*, edited by Michelant, 1846, is devoted to the Fontaine de Jouvence (pp. 347 ff.). Sir G. Warner refers to Huon de Bordeaux (p. 434 of the E.E.T.S. reprint).

p. 113, l. 16. *In þat lond*.—Odoric: Les gens de ce pais aourent un beuf pour dieu. Ce beuf ilz nourrissent six ans, etc. (pp. 100–101). To the close of the chapter Odoric is closely followed.

p. 113, l. 26. *Archiprothepapaton*.—The protopope, *πρωτοπαπᾶς*, is a chief priest in the Greek Church. Prester John's Letter (ed. Zarncke, p. 94) mentions the archiprotopapaten, in the accusative. Perhaps d'Outremeuse here intended a satire against the papacy.

p. 114, l. 4. *brennen his body*.—In Jacques de Vitry, Didymus the Indian blames Alexander for burning dead bodies, instead of restoring them to the soil that gave them birth (*Historia orientalis*, ed. 1597, p. 205).

p. 114, l. 6. *pei brenne hire*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Apud eos [viz. the Indians] lex est, ut uxor charissima cum defuncto marito cremetur. Haec ergo contendunt inter se de morte viri, et ambitio summa certantium est testimonium castitatis digna morte decerni (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxxi., col. 2396, ed. 1524).

p. 114, l. 18. *wommen drynken*.—Odoric: Les femmes y boivent vin [viz. in Polombe] et non li homme. Item les femmes y font rere leur barbe et non li homme. Cordier traces this nonsense to a misinterpreted Latin text: mulieres etiam faciunt sibi abradi frontem et barbam homines non (ed. 1891, p. 102).

p. 114, l. 22. *Mabarou*.—Odoric: Mobarum. Cordier: the Coromandel coast. Arabic: Ma'bar (p. 117).

p. 115, l. 2. *in a vessell*.—The correct French reading probably is that of two variants given by Sir G. Warner: S, dehors le vessel; G, dehors du vaissel, *i.e.* outside his shrine. Brussels 10420–5 is corrupt: a dehoirs dun vaisseau. The Englisher mistranslates. The sources for the judgments delivered by the dead saint's hand are, according to Sir G. Warner and Bovenschen, Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia* (III., xxvi., p. 969), where the hand reaches the host to the faithful, and withholds it from the unworthy. John of Hildesheim denies that such a miracle takes place among the Nestorian heretics (1878, p. 32). The romance of the Knight with the Swan relates that an image of orpiment, standing in the Emperor's hall at Nimegue, raises its finger against him who judges unjustly:

Qui fu faite par art, en tel devisement,  
Qu'à celui tent son doit qui fait faus jugement.  
(éd. Hippeau, Vol. I., 1874, p. 116.)

Two ladies of romance, the fair maid of Astolat (Malory, xviii., 20) and the lady Blanche fleur, similarly move their hands after death: the former hands a letter to King Arthur (Rhys, *Stud.*



*Arth. Leg.*, 1891, p. 149), the latter always points towards the sun (A. Thijm, *Karolingische Verhalen*, 1851, p. 337, following Diederik van Assenede). Jean d'Outremeuse, *Miroir des Histoires*, Vol. III., 1873, p. 59, agrees exactly with the *Mandeville*.

p. 115, l. 26. *seynt Iames*.—H.: saint Iake de Galice. The Englisher imagined that Galicia was a place away from St. James of Compostella. Mistranslation.

p. 117, l. 12. *.cc. or .ccc. persones*.—Odoric only states that five hundred die every year. He often expresses abhorrence of the heathen practices which he notes briefly instead of expatiating upon them with the cynical zest of the *Mandeville*.

p. 117, l. 31. *ledynge him*.—H.: vont deuant lydole a grant feste menant. Et cil qi se doit occire ad vn cotel, etc., i. e. they go before the idol, showing great joy. And he that will slay himself has a knife, etc. Mistranslation.

p. 118, l. 18. *Lamary*.—Odoric: De l'isle Lamori, *alias* Samorj. Cordier: one of the kingdoms in the island of Sumatra, near Atjeh. Arab travellers often mention this kingdom (p. 136).

p. 118, l. 20. *scornen*.—Odoric was mocked in this way, but he does not indulge in an argument about Adamism, which was a common topic of orthodox and unorthodox thinkers of the Middle Ages. Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXX., c. lxxv., col. 2271, ed. 1624) takes the side of the Church.

p. 118, l. 26. *beleeuen in god*.—Odoric has no such praise of the Adamites.

p. 118, l. 29. *pei synnen*.—John of Hildesheim says the same about the Nicolaïte heretics (ed. 1878, p. 27). Jacques de Vitry accuses medical men of advising sin: sub obtentu purgationis consulunt fornicari (Funk, *Jacob von Vitry*, 1909, p. 72); cf. Jundt, *Hist. Panth.*, 1875, p. 112. Such attacks against monogamy were common in the Netherlands (Baluze, *Miscell.*, II., 1761, *Errores . . . hominum intelligentiae*, p. 289).

p. 119, l. 14. *cursed custom*.—This seems to imply tacit approval of the community of wives and goods.

p. 119, l. 27. *Antartyk*.—This star seems to have been invented by d'Outremeuse by his familiar process of turning the world topsy turvy. Vincent de Beauvais quotes St. Augustine about the roundness of the earth (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VI., c. x., col. 376, ed. 1524). He also knows that a star cannot be visible from all quarters of the globe: *stellae, quae in uno climate apparent, in alio non apparent*. Canopes stella quae ab Aegyptijs videtur, a

nobis non videtur, quod nunquam contingeret si terra plana esset (*ib.* c. IX., col. 375).

p. 119, l. 31. *the lodesterre . . . appereth not.*—Odoric says he lost sight of the North Star in Lamory (p. 135).

p. 120, l. 3. *after pat I haue seyn.*—So H.: solonc ceo qe iay veu. The two Brussels MSS. are much more positive: selon ce que jay essaïet, *i. e.* according to my experience.

p. 120, l. 16. *I haue gon.*—This seems an echo of the *Directorium* of Pseudo-Brocardus: transiens infallibiliter sub et ultra tropicum estivalem, sub equinoctio me inveni, quod probatur ex tribus demonstrativis evidenciis argumentis. Primo quod in loco illo in quantitate diei ac noctis, nullo anni tempore, alicujus hore seu eciam momenti sensibilis differencia notabatur; secundo quod existente sole in primo gradu Arietis et Libre, erat ibi in meridie umbra recta; tercio quod stellas, que circumeunt propinquius polos mundi videbam in aliqua parte noctis istas, scilicet ad aquilonem, illas autem ad meridiem super circulum orizontis simul et equaliter elevatas. Obmitto causa brevitatis multa alia argumenta, licet essent auribus curiosa. Processi ultra versus meridiem ad locum ubi polum nostrum articum non videbam, et videbam polum antarcticum circa xxiii. gradibus elevatum. Ab isto loco ulterius non processi (ed. Kohler, 1906, pp. 383–384).

p. 121, l. 16. *feet azen feet.*—Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VI., c. x., col. 376) admits Antipodes, but denies the possibility of circumnavigation.

p. 121, l. 35. *scheweth no schadwe.*—Sir G. Warner refers to Arculf's pilgrimage (ed. Tobler, I., 13), where a column in the centre of Jerusalem is said to cast no shadow in the summer solstice. Honorius writes that no shadow appears in summer in Meroe in Egypt (*Im. Mund.*, l. I., c. xxxvi., col. 131; Migne 172). Vincent de Beauvais writes that the Arabs have those shadows on the left, that we have on the right (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., ch. lxxxviii).

p. 122, l. 11. *befallen.*—H.: Et pur ceo mad il souenuz meinfoithe dune chose qe ieo oy conter, *i. e.* and therefore I have often remembered a thing that I have heard told. Mistranslation.

p. 122, l. 16. *fond an yle.*—In the fourteenth-century version of the *Knight of the Swan* by the anonymous author of Liège whom we believe to be d'Outremeuse himself, Ponce and the abbot of St. Trond, travelling from Jerusalem, mistake their way and instead of returning to Ponthieu or Flanders, they arrive at a new forest of



Ardennes and a new castle of Bouillon (*Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXV., p. 516).

p. 122, l. 17. *callynge on oxen*.—H.: toucher les boeufs *i.e.* goad the oxen. Mistranslation.

p. 123, l. 10. *qui suspendi*.—Job, xxvi. 7: He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing. Honorius quotes this: Qui appendit terram super nihilum (Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, l. VI., c. iv., col. 372, ed. 1524).

p. 123, l. 14. *For, for the gretness, etc.*—H.: Qar, pur la grandeure de la terre et de la mer, homme purroit aler par mil et mil autres voies, qe nul nadresseroit parfitement vers les parties dont il mouverout, si ceo nestoit daenture ou de droit grace de Dieu, *i.e.* for, on account of the extent of the earth and sea, one might go thousands of other ways, without ever making straight for the country that one came from, except through luck or through the grace of God.

p. 124, l. 4. *D.C. furlonges*.—H.: stadies. The Englisher used furlong for stadium, which the French text took over from Vincent de Beauvais. The length of a stadium is given as 125 paces, or 606 ft. 9 in. English. Vincent gives seven hundred furlongs to a degree, while our Cotton MS. gives only six hundred on p. 124, l. 4. Similarly H.: Et sachez qe solonc lez autours dastronomie dc. stadies de terre respondent a vn degre du firmament, cez sont iiii. <sup>xx</sup>. vii. et iiii. stadies. Ore soi ceo si multipliez par ccxli. foithes, cez serront xxxi. mil dc. miles, chescune de viii. stadies, solonc miles de nostre pais. Vincent de Beauvais: Comperta igitur magnitudine unius partis terrarum circulum terrae diffinivit: stadiorum ducentorum quinquaginta duorum millia, id est miliaria xxx. et unum milia et D. (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VI., c. xiii., ed. 1524, vol I., col. 378).

p. 124, l. 10. The Englisher follows H., which differs entirely from Brussels 10420–5 to the close of the chapter.

p. 124, l. 18. *not of the.vij.clymates*.—This contradicts p. 108, l. 14.

p. 124, l. 19. *betwene high*—H.: en trehant, *i.e.* drawing towards the roundness of the world. Mistranslation.

p. 124, l. 21. *lowe contree*.—Does d'Outremeuse mean Liège, and reckon it in the Low Countries? or does he mean England, as lying low, *i.e.* far to the west of Jerusalem?

p. 124, l. 25. *Sumobor*.—Odoric: Sinohora, Sumoltra, etc. Cordier: that kingdom in Sumatra which gave its name to the whole island (p. 154).

p. 125, l. 4. *Betemga*.—Cordier quotes Yule as spelling this Resengo and explaining it as Rejang, while himself tentatively suggests Bengkoelen, in the island of Sumatra (p. 159). Sir G. Warner thinks of Batang, south of Singapore.

p. 125, l. 16. *the notemuge bereth the maces*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Sunt autem cortices quidam qui reperiuntur circa nuces muscatas sicut circa avellanas (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XIV., c. liii.).

p. 125, l. 26. *ben all. square*.—H.: ont vn quarreu dor et vn autre dargent. Mistranslation.

p. 125, l. 29. *enleved*.—H.: enleuez, *i. e.* in relief. Odoric: entaillies, *i. e.* carved (p. 162).

p. 126, l. 6. *Pathen*.—H.: qest appelle Thalamassy, et en autre langage homme lappelle Paten. Odoric: Bien près de Fana (*i. e.* Java) est une autre isle qui a nom Natem (var. Panthen), autrement est nommée Calamasi (p. 173). Cordier: Bandjermasin, on the southern coast of Borneo (p. 177).

p. 126, l. 8. *beren mele*.—Odoric: En ce pays a arbres qui portent farine, et aucunes fois portent miel et aucunes fois vin. Et si y a plusieurs autres arbres qui portent venin le plus périlleux qui soit, etc. (p. 173).

p. 126, l. 11. *beren hony*.—The same joke occurs in accounts of the land of Cockayne. Poeschel quotes Ovid:

Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

(*Met.*, I., 111, etc.)

and Horace, *Ode to Bacchus*:

. . . truncis lapsa cavis . . . mella.

(*Carm.*, II., xix., 9-12.)

(*Schlaraffenland*, in Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge*, 1878.)

p. 126, l. 11. *beren venym*.—H.: et des autres qi portent vin, et des autres qi portent venim. Sir G. Warner explains the wine as palm-wine, referring to Marco Polo (II., p. 274), and the poison as that of the upas tree.

p. 126, l. 13. *here propre leves*.—H.: de ses propres fiens. Odoric: Cest que cilz qui a pris de cest venin, il preigne fiente de l'homme, et la destrempe avec eaue et boive de celle eaue, il en garra (pp. 173-174). Two MSS., S. and G., give variant feuilles for fiente in Sir G. Warner's edition. The Englisher followed them.

p. 126, l. 16. *the Iewes*.—This is not in Odoric.

p. 126, l. 21. *beren wryn*.—See above, note to p. 126, l. 11. Sentement, *i. e.* scent.



p. 126, l. 22. *how the mele cometh*.—Odoric describes the process in nearly the same way, but without mentioning the mill, which is also missing from Cordier's description of the preparation of sago (p. 183).

p. 126, l. 32. *it schall neuere comen vp azen*.—Odoric: L'cauo de ceste mer cuert adès vers midj et se aucuns y cheoit jamais n'en pourroit estre resqueux ne trouvés (p. 175). Sir G. Warner explains this as referring to the strong currents of the Southern Ocean.

p. 126, l. 34. *cannes*.—Vincent de Beauvais quotes from Alexander's letter to Aristotle on India: flumen cuius ripam arundo pedum sexagenum vestiebat (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XII., c. lxvii.). The *Roman d'Alexandre* says:

d'ambes II pars la rive fu parcreus li ros,  
xxx. piés ot de haut et iii. toises de gros.  
(éd Michelant, 1846, p. 280, ll. 19–20.)

Sir G. Warner has traced the name Thaby to Brun. Latini (I. 4. 123, p. 158), who applies it to the reeds and to Solinus (50, § 2), who applies it to a sea.

p. 126, l. 37. *.iiij. quarteres of a furlong*.—H.: quatre arpentz ou plus.

p. 127, l. 2. *precious stones*.—Odoric, p. 176. The stone was called bezoar or snakestone (Cordier, pp. 184–186).

p. 127, l. 6. *on no partye*.—H.: par nul arme, *i. e.* by no weapon. Mistranslation.

p. 127, l. 16. *ne beren on to the erthe*.—H.: ne leuer haut de terre. Mistranslation.

p. 127, l. 17. *Calonak*.—Odoric: Campe, explained by Cordier as Tchampa, in the peninsula of Indo-China, conquered by Annam in 1471 (pp. 188–193). The form Calonak has not been explained.

p. 127, l. 19. *many wyfes*.—Expanded and exaggerated from Odoric: Le roy qui en ce pays regnoit quant je y fus, avoit bien CC. enfans, que fieux que filles: car il avoit pluseurs femmes espousées et grant plante de concubines (p. 187).

p. 127, l. 29. *.xiiij. Mil Olifauntz*.—Odoric gives the number of children as two hundred, that of tame elephants as 14,000 (p. 187). The reference to the use of elephants in wars may be from the Alexandrian or from the Crusading romances. Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Nat.*, l. XIX., cc. xxxviii.–l., on elephants, is not closely followed.

p. 128, l. 2. *Warkes*.—Brussels 10420–25: *varkes*. The word is unexplained. Sir G. Warner suggests Isidore's *barrus*: "apud Indos autem [elephas] a voce Barrus vocatur," or the French *vache*, after the Latin *luca bos*.

p. 128, l. 4. *all manere of fissches*.—Odoric is closely followed down to p. 128, l. 19.

p. 128, l. 18. *do reuerence*.—Isaiah, c. lxvi. v. 23: And it shall come to pass, that . . . shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. *Pseudo-Methodius* says that fishes will obey the Arab invaders of Christendom: . . . *pisces mari natantia, etiam et aquis maris obaudient eis* (ed. Sackur, 1898). In Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires*, Adam is described as sitting in the waters of Jordan after the Fall and as saying to the water: "Je toy dis, aighe de Jordan, que tu moy weulhe condoleur, et vos assembleis deleis moy tous les noians qui asteis en fluis. O Jordan, ilh moy circuient, et si pleurent awec moy! Ilh ne soy plandent mie, mais moy plandent, car ilh n'ont mie pachiet." Tantost vinrent toutes les biestes entour luy, et enssi estut-ilh de cel heure sens mouoir XVIII jours (Vol. I., 1864, p. 311).

p. 128, l. 21. *Crescite*, etc.—Not in Odoric. According to Gibbon, the saint, in the Magian [Zoroastrian] religion, is obliged to beget children, etc. (I., p. 201, ed. 1900). But the explanation may be d'Outremeuse's own.

p. 128, l. 36. *Snayles*.—Odoric: En ceste contrée vy je une lymace qui estoit si grande que ce estoit merueille. Elle estoit plus grande que le clochier Saint-Martin de Padue, se il feult ainsi tournez comme maison de lymace (p. 188). Cordier and all the commentators agree that Odoric meant a tortoise and that his authority for its size was literary. Vincent de Beauvais writes of the people of Taprobane: *pastationibus delectantur, praesertimque testitudinum quarum superficie domus familiarum capaces operiunt* (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxxix., p. 28, ed. 1624). Sir G. Warner thinks Odoric may have seen an enormous sculptured turtle, and Cordier suggests a heap of shells mistaken for a single one (p. 195).

p. 129, l. 3. *white wormes*.—Sir G. Warner refers to Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, I., 86) and to the *Ep. Alex.* (p. 56).

p. 129, l. 7. *And 3if a man*, etc.—Odoric: Quant aucuns homs meurt en ce pays on ensevelist sa femme avec lui, car ilz dient que drois est que elle demeure avec lui en l'autre siècle (p. 188).

p. 129, l. 12. *Caffolos*.—Brussels 10420–5: . . . a nom *kaffo*. Les gens de ce pais, etc. The article became attached to the



preceding word, which seems the name of Caffa in the Crimea, mentioned by Hayton (ed. 1906, p. 162, fn. 1) as a Genoese trading centre.

p. 129, l. 13. *pei hangen hem.*—Vincent de Beauvais: Sybarini senes, quos dilexerunt, suspendunt in patibulo. Hyrcani volucris et canibus semivivos proiciunt, Caspi itidem bestiis mortuos. Scythae eos, qui a defunctis amati sunt, vivos infodiunt cum ossibus mortuorum. Caprij canibus ad hoc nutritis subiiciunt senes (*Sp. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxix., col. 2394 of 1524 ed.).

p. 129, l. 14. *Angeles of god.*—This pious reason is invented by d'Outremeuse.

p. 129, l. 23. *Milke.*—Sir G. Warner guesses at Malacca or even Malay. He also refers to the "Malichu insula" of Pliny (VI. 175.—Warner's p. xxv.).

p. 129, l. 26. *Dieu.*—So in the French original, probably meant as a satire against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Egerton: *pare es na drink þat þai lufe so wele as mannes blude, and þat þai say es Godd.* The original Englisher missed the point, or chose to evade it.

p. 129, l. 30. *euery of hem . . . drynke of operes blood.*—Vincent de Beauvais writes of Scythians: *haustu mutui sanguinis foedus sanciant* (*Spec. Hist.*, I. 88).

p. 129, l. 36. *Tracoda.*—A name probably invented after the precious stone called draconitis, because taken from a dragon's brain; on p. 130, l. 8 it appears as Tracodoun. Brussels 10420-5: tracodite. The hissing cave-dwellers are Vincent de Beauvais' Troglodytes.

p. 130, l. 12. *Nacumeru.*—Odoric: De l'isle Vacumeran, *alias* Nychoneran (p. 201). Cordier: Nicobar islands, perhaps Nancoury, one of their number (pp. 203-204).

p. 130, l. 15.—*Canopholos.*—The Cynocephali of ancient and Medieval geography and of Alexandrian and Crusading romances. The name is not in Odoric. (*Roman d'Alexandre*, éd. Michelant, 1846, pp. 319, 336.—Jean d'Outremeuse, *Miroir des Histoires*, I., 1864, p. 281.)

p. 130, l. 33. *whan pei chesen.*—Haiton: et quando rex illius insulae debet coronari, lapidem illum manibus suis tenet, et sedens super equo circuit civitatem et tunc oboediunt sibi tamquam regi (c. vi., quoted by Bovenschen).

p. 131, l. 2. *Cane of Cathay.*—From Haiton. Cordier's note, p. 218.

p. 131, l. 9. *Silha*.—Odoric: Sillam, *alias* Silan (p. 219). Odoric's text is closely adhered to.

p. 131, l. 33. *And for the vermyn*.—H.: Et pur le vermine qest dedeins ils se oignent les bracz et les iambes del iucz de lymons, cest vn manere de fruit come pesches petites, *i. e.* And for the vermin that is within they anoint their arms and legs with the juice of limes, which are a kind of fruit like small peaches, etc. The Englisher mistranslated pêches = peaches, as pois = pease.

p. 132, l. 9. *gees pat han .ij. hedes*.—Hornbills.

p. 132, l. 10. *lyouns all white*.—Not in Odoric, but from the Alexandrian romances (*Rom. d'Alex.*, éd. Michelant, 1846, p. 288).

p. 132, l. 13. *the see is so high*.—Duplicate of p. 96, ll. 3–5.

p. 132, l. 20. *Dondun*.—Odoric: Dondiin. Cordier: the Andaman Islands, described out of Odoric's imagination (pp. 237–239). Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires* takes Ogier the Dane to Dondiin: Puis vient Ogier a Dondine ou at des gens qui sont nomeis Quespois, et sont tuis agoyans et n'ont que une oeilh emy le front; et ly une mangnoit l'autre: ly fis son pere, la feme son marit; et y at des lyons blans comme nois; si y at des gances; ce sont oywes qui ont dois tiestes (Vol. III., 1873, p. 62).

p. 132, l. 22. *the sone [eteth] the fader*.—While following Odoric, d'Outremeuse also agrees with the Alexandrian romances. The Persian guards called immortals are converted by Jacob van Maerlant into the people of Triballe, who live so long, that it is lawful for the son to kill his parents (*Alexander*, éd. Franck, 1882, p. lxi.).

p. 133, l. 6. *hondes vpon his mouth*.—H.: ly met vn pain sur la bouche, *i. e.* put a piece of cloth over his mouth. The Englisher read main = hand for pain = pannus = cloth. Mistranslation.

p. 133, l. 12. *And alle po*, etc.—Odoric: Tous les amis et parens du mort qui à le mengier ne sont point appellé en sont moult honteulz et se tiennent à moult villenez et vergondez (p. 238). D'Outremeuse reverses Odoric's statement.

p. 133, l. 19. *whan the flesch is tendre*, etc., as far as l. 25, missing in Odoric.

p. 133, l. 30. *geauntes*.—Odoric is abandoned and Medieval accounts of monsters, such as Vincent de Beauvais and the Alexandrian romances, are followed. The main source for monsters is *Spec. Hist.*, II., 92–93. The remoter sources are listed by Boven-schen, pp. 292–293.—Cyclopes eadem India gignit, dictos Cyclopes,



eo quod unum habere oculum in fronte media perhibentur (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxvi., I., ed. 1524).

p. 133, l. 34. *non heedes*.—Leucanos in Lybia credunt truncos sine capite nasci, et os et oculos habere in pectore (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxvii., col. 2393, ed. 1524).

p. 134, l. 2. *in here schuldres*.—Alios sine cervicibus gigni, oculos habentes in humeris (*ibid.*).

p. 134, l. 3 *face all platt*.—Aliae sine naribus, aequali totius oris planicie, informes habentes vultus (*ibid.*).

p. 134, l. 7. *the lippe aboue the mouth*.—Aliae labro *subteriori* (i. e. lower!) adeo prominenti, ut in solis ardoribus totam ex eo faciem contegant dormientes (*ibid.*). Brussels 10420–5 follows the Latin in mentioning the nether lip, while the Englisher follows H. : *dessour la bouche* = upper lip.

p. 134, l. 10. *to so meche*.—Brussels 10420–5 : *doxis foyz tant plus grans* = twice as large.

p. 134, l. 12. *lytyll round hole*.—Alijs concreta ora esse modico tantum foramine calamis avenarum pastus haurientes (Vincent, as in note to p. 133, l. 34).

p. 134, l. 13. *porgh a pipe or a penne*.—H. : *ouesqe vne tuel de plom ou daltre chose* = with the quill of a feather or of some other thing. Mistranslation.

p. 134, l. 14. *no tonge*.—Nonnulli sine linguis esse dicuntur, inuicem pro sermonibus utentes nutu sive motu (Vincent, as above).

p. 134, l. 15. *hissyngs as a nedder*.—See note to p. 129, l. 36.

p. 134, l. 17. *as monkes don*.—The stricter monastic orders, such as the Carthusians, are forbidden to speak, but allowed to express themselves by means of gestures. Brussels 10420–5 : *comme moines ou mowes ou nonains* = like monks or monkeys or nuns. This is anti-clerical.

p. 134, l. 18. *grete eres*.—Panothios [*παν-ὄτης*] apud Scythiam esse ferunt tam diffusa magnitudine aurium, ut omne corpus ex eis contegant (Vincent, as above).

p. 134, l. 20. *hors feet*.—Hippopodes in Scythia sunt, humanam formam et equinos pedes habentes (*ibid.*).

p. 134, l. 22. *gon vpon hire hondes*.—Hirhabacitae in Aethiopia proni ut pecora ambulare dicuntur (*ibid.*).

p. 134, l. 26. *bothe man & womman*.—Vincent simply mentions the existence of hermaphrodites (c. cxxviii). D'Outremeuse's licentious imagination does the rest.

p. 134, l. 27. *but o pappe*.—See p. 103, ll. 11-16. Duplication.

p. 134, l. 33. *vpon here knees*.—Ultra hos et Riphæum iugum regio est assiduis obsessa nivibus, ubi humani pedes flexi nisibus crurium, serpunt potiusquam incedunt, et pergendi usum lapsu magis destinant quam gressu (Vincent, as in note to p. 133, l. 34).

p. 135, l. 5. *Mancy*.—Odoric: Mangy, p. 245.—*ynde the more*.—Odoric: la Haute Inde, explained by Cordier as China, while Mangy is Southern China, p. 248.

p. 135, l. 15. *thynne berdes*.—Hayton writes of the Cathayans or Chinese: Et se trovent entre eaus meints beaus homes e fames, selonc luer nacion, mès touz ont les oils petiz et ont poi de barbe (ed. 1906, p. 121).

p. 135, l. 21. *Albanye*. Not in Odoric. Duplicate from p. 95, l. 24.

p. 135, l. 22. *Latoryn*.—Odoric: Tesculan (p. 247) (Censcalan in Yule's edition). Cordier: Canton, called Sin Kîlân by Muhammadan travellers (p. 256).

p. 135, l. 28. *white gees*.—The Guinea-goose or swan-goose, anser cygnoides.

p. 135, l. 29. *crest*.—H.: boce = bump. Mistranslation.

p. 136, l. 1. *gode cytees*.—This passage follows Odoric's description of Cartan, *alias* Catan (p. 263). Cordier: Zaïtoun (p. 268).

p. 136, l. 11. *beren white wolle*.—Silk-fowl, Gallus lanatus.

p. 136, l. 12. *vnmarried*.—Odoric: Les dames mariées y portent une corne sur leur chief et par celle corne recognoist-on les dames mariées des autres (265-266). This agrees with the original French *Mandeville*. Mistranslation.

p. 136, l. 17. *loyres*.—The Middle French name of the otter, the use of which for catching fish is mentioned by Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, XIX., 89.) Odoric (p. 266) describes fishing in Chinese rivers with tame cormorants. In his perplexity, the Englisher retained the French word, which he probably could not understand.

p. 136, l. 23. *Cassay*.—Odoric: Casay, *alias* Catusaie (299). Cordier explains that Hangchow is called the City of Heaven by mistake (p. 306).

p. 136, l. 27. *before euery 3ate*, etc.—H.: deuant chescun porte a .iii. lieues ou .iiii. long ad ville ou cite bien grande, *i. e.* before each gate, at a distance of three or four leagues, there is a very large town or city. Mistranslation.



p. 137, l. 1. *Bigon*.—Cordier cannot explain this word: he thinks it is Persian, and the ending *goun* marks colour. Odoric spells it *bigum*, *bigni*, *bigini* (p. 302).

p. 137, l. 15. *smyteth on the gardyn zate*, etc.—H.: *sonne vne clokette dargent, qil teigne en sa main*, *i. e.* rings a little silver bell that he holds in his hand. Mistranslation.

p. 137, l. 16. *clyket*.—A clapper.

p. 137, l. 19. *comen in*.—H.: *se rengent*, *i. e.* line up. Mistranslation.

p. 137, l. 24. *bestes ben soules*.—Cordier remarks that the Bodhisattvas, or beings predestined to become Buddhas, often appear in the shape of monkeys (p. 331). D'Outremeuse follows Odoric closely, otherwise his account of Buddhist almsgiving to beasts must appear a satire on the doctrine of Purgatory and on the sale of indulgences, which diverts alms from the poor (Montégut, *Heures de lecture*, 1891, pp. 322–323). That animals, not beggars, ought to be given the leavings of rich men's meals is the opinion of the Saracen Cornumaran in the fourteenth-century version (by d'Outremeuse?) of the Crusading epic (*Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXV., p. 518).

Ibid. *pat resemblen*, etc.—H.: *qi sont entrez en celles nobles bestoilles*, *i. e.* that have entered those noble animals. Mistranslation.

p. 138, l. 4. *Chilenfo*.—Odoric: *Gilenfo* (p. 341).

p. 138, l. 10. *Balay*.—Odoric: *Talay* (p. 345). Cordier: *Talai*, Mongolian for the sea, applied to the Yang-tse-Kiang (p. 347).

p. 138, l. 14. *Pigmans*.—Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires* takes Ogier the Dane to visit the Pygmies in the city of Janichay (see p. 139, l. 4); they are three feet high, marry when half a year old, and the women bear children when two years of age. They live six or seven years; if they live eight, they grow quite wrinkled (Vol. III., 1873, p. 64). Vincent de Beauvais: *Perhibent in India gentem esse foeminarum quae quinquies concupiunt, et octavum vitae annum non excedunt* (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxiv., col. 2391, ed. 1524).

p. 138, l. 21. *gold, syluer*, etc.—In Odoric they only work cotton (p. 347). Jean d'Outremeuse appears to have added the silk, and the Englisher the gold and silver.

p. 138, l. 24. *bryddes*.—Odoric: *Ces Pymains ont tousjours guerre aux grues et aux cygnes du pays qui là sont plus grans que les Pymains* (p. 346). Vincent de Beauvais: *In montibus Indiae*

Pygmaei sunt cubitales, quibus bellum est contra grues (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxviii., col. 2394). H.: Et si ont souent guerre as oiseaux de pais, qui les preignent et qui les mangent, *i. e.* the birds eat the pygmies. The Englisher reverses the relation. Mis-translation.

p. 139, l. 4. *Ianichay*.—Odoric: Jamathay, *alias* Jansu (p. 357).

p. 139, l. 9. *Cumantz*.—Odoric: tumans (p. 358). Cordier explains that tuman in Persian is a loan-word from the Mongolian language, and means ten thousand (pp. 315–316).

p. 139, l. 27. *Menke*.—Odoric: Mente (p. 359). Yule interprets this as Ningpo, Cordier as Tchén-kiang, at the meeting of the Imperial Canal and of the Kiang River (pp. 362–363).

p. 139, l. 33. *Lanteryne*.—Odoric: Lancerny (p. 365). Cordier: Lin-tsing-tcheou (p. 381).

p. 139, l. 36. *Caramaron*.—Odoric: Caramorian (p. 365). Cordier: Kara mouren, the Black River, is the Mongol name of the Hwang-ho or Yellow River (p. 384).

p. 140, l. 14. *Sugarmago*.—Odoric: Ingarmato (p. 366). Cordier: Marco Polo's Singui matu, now Tsi-ning-tcheou (p. 389).

p. 140, l. 19. *Caydon*.—Odoric: Cayto (p. 367). Cordier: Ta-tou, or the Great Court, the Mongol City, built 1267 to the north-east of Peking (pp. 400–401).

p. 141, l. 14. *rede skynnes*.—R.: cuirs rouges, *i. e.* red leather. Odoric: les parois sont toutes couvertes de rouges peaux; et dit-on que ou monde n'a point plus nobles peaux (p. 368). Odoric probably meant the walls were hung with Russia leather.

p. 141, l. 15. *Panteres*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Panthera . . . rugitum magnum emittit cum odore suavissimo quasi omnium aromatum (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XIX., c. xcix., col. 1436). D'Outremeuse would naturally think of this on smelling Russia leather.

p. 141, l. 23. *mountour*.—Odoric: Ou milieu de ceste salle a une grant pigne, c'est-à-dire un pignetaire un grant vaissel là ou on met piment et buvrage (p. 368), *i. e.* in the centre of the hall is a large jar or vessel where spiced wine and beverage are put. The Middle French pignato, peignate, pinate is a metal kettle. The Middle Latin pinna also seems to mean some drinking-vessel, according to the example in Du Cange: Ut presbyteri non eant ad potationes nec ad pinnas bibant. This meaning d'Outremeuse seems to have combined with that of pinna, pinnacle, and rendered by montour. The latter word, I am told by Prof. Aug. Doutrepoint,



one of the editors of the *Dictionnaire de la langue wallonne*, exists to-day in the Walloon dialect, meaning a stile (échalier), and corresponding with a French form \*monteur. This is not unlike Rabelais's montouoir: ". . . je coupe à quelqu'une [mule] l'estri-vière du costé du montouoir" (*Pantagruel*, l. II., c. xvii., Vol. I., p. 410 of Didot's third edition of *Oeuvres*). In the *Mirror of Histories*, by d'Outremeuse, montoir occurs twice (Vol. I., pp. 289-290), meaning a hill or mount. Grandgagnage, *Dict. étym. de la langue wallonne*, t. II., 1880, *verbo* monteie gives monteû (échalier); propr. = fr. montoir.

p. 141, l. 26. *.iiij. serpentes.*—Odoric: A chascun anglet de celle pigne a un serpent qui halette et bat ses elles moult fort, par certains conduis qui sont en la court du roy administrant cil serpent le buvrage, *i. e.* At each corner of that jar there is a dragon which pants and flaps its wings right strongly; this dragon pours out the beverage by means of certain pipes which are in the king's court (p. 368).

p. 141, l. 35. *throne.*—What follows is expanded from Odoric, pp. 369-370.

p. 143, l. 4. *Pecokes.*—Odoric: En ce palais a moult de paons fais tous de fin or. Et quant aucuns Tartres veult en ce palais faire aucune feste à son seigneur, il bat les mains ensemble et tantost ces paons espandent les elles et alettent et semble droit que ilz dancent tellement; sont faits cilz paon par science d'homme ou par art de diable, *i. e.* In the palace are many peacocks all made of fine gold. And when some Tartar wants to give some entertainment to his lord in the palace, he claps his hands together and anon those peacocks spread their wings and pant and they truly seem to dance; so are those peacocks made through man's skill or devil's craft (pp. 368-369).

p. 143, l. 7. *maken gret noyse.*—R.: et en fait homme des grantz museries, *i. e.* and people take great pleasure in it. Mis-translation.

p. 143, l. 11. *moste sotyle men.*—Hayton: Cestes gens, qui tant sont simples en lur creance e ès choses espiriteus, sont plus sages et plus sotils que totes autres gens es euvres corporels. Et dient les Cataïens que il sont ceus qui voient de II. oils, e des Latins disent q'il voient d'un oil mes les autres nacions dient que sont avuegles. Et verraïement l'om voit venir de celui país tantes choses estranges et merveilluses, et de sotil labour, que bien semblent estre la plus soutil gens du monde d'art et de labour de

mains (*Flor des Estoires*, l. I., c. i., p. 121, ed. 1906). Those people, who are so simple in their belief in things spiritual, are wiser and more skilful than any other people in works of the body. And the Cathayans say that they are those that see with both eyes, and the Latins, they say, see with one eye, but the other nations they say are blind. And truly from that country so many strange and marvellous things and of subtle craft are seen to come, that they truly seem to be the subtlest people in the world, with art and craft of their hands.

p. 143, l. 22. *vyne*.—This vine is from the Alexandrian romances. Sir G. Warner quotes *Epistol. Alex. de Situ Indicie*, ed. 1706, p. 22; Bovenschen, *Historia de proeliis*, c. lxxxix. Guérin traces it to Josephus, where it adorns the doors of the Temple rebuilt by Herodes (*Antiqu. Jud.*, l. XV., c. xi., quoted in Guérin: *La Terre Sainte*, 1897, p. 64). Vincent de Beauvais describes it in Solomon's Temple: *grandes uvæ aureae cum pampinis aureis* (*Spec. Hist.*, l. II., c. lxxvii., fol. 71, ed. 1624).

p. 143, l. 26. *cristall & of berylle*, etc.—In Lamprecht's *Alexander*, the Macedonian wants to be taught the virtues of precious stones (ed. Kinzel, p. 373). Kinzel's note, p. 518, refers to Revelation xxi. and to Exodus xxviii., and to the spiritual interpretation of those passages.

p. 143, l. 28. *Alultraundynes*.—R.: alabaundines. Almandine.

p. 143, l. 30. *Garantez*.—R.: geracites. Brussels 10420-5: geratices. Pliny's hieracites.

p. 144, l. 1. *desportes*.—R.: reuoryes.

p. 144, l. 7. *Vessell of syluer is pere non*.—Neither the account of precious stones nor the contempt of silver occurs in Odoric.

p. 144, l. 15. *my felawes and I*.—Odoric here speaks of himself and his fellow Franciscans. D'Outremeuse again assumes the guise of a warrior as on p. 21, l. 20. Duplicate.

p. 144, l. 28. *the lordes here*.—R.: Qar ly seignur par de cea ont au mointz de noumbre de gent qil poent, *i. e.* lords in our parts have as few retainers as they can. Complaints about the niggardliness of lords who keep down the number of their dependents were common in the Middle Ages.

p. 145, l. 29. *Sem toke Affryk*.—These commonplaces from Genesis and from the Medieval commentators are deliberately perverted by d'Outremeuse, in order to derive the Asiatic Khan's title from the Biblical Cham, the owner of Africa.

p. 146, l. 7. *monstres*.—From p. 30, l. 4. Duplication.



p. 146, l. 26. *more þan .viij.<sup>xx</sup> zeer.*—Vincent de Beauvais dating the rise of the Tartars in 1202 (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxix), this passage seems to have been written after 1362, when Jean d'Outremeuse was 24 years old, and Sir John Mandeville had still ten years to live. The earliest dated MS. belonging to the year 1371, a date soon after 1362 for the composition is not impossible.

p. 147, l. 3. *knyght Armed all in white.*—From Hayton, p. 148, ed. 1906.

p. 147, l. 10. *whan he cam.*—R.: quant il vient a matyn, *i. e.* when it came to be morning. Mistranslation.

p. 147, l. 21. *vpon a blak fertre.*—R.: sour vn feutre noir, *i. e.* upon a black felt. The Englisher understood Lat. feretrum, a litter, a bier.

p. 147, l. 28. *Ysya Chan.*—Hayton: Multa alia bona exempla et mandata dedit eis Changuis Can, que adhuc reverenter a Tataris observantur. Et in ydiomate ipsorum dicuntur Yasac Changuis Can, id est constitutiones Changuis Can (p. 289 of 1906 ed.).

p. 148, l. 30. *Owle syttynge.*—Sir G. Warner recalls that Mahomet is said to have been saved in a similar way by a spider's web spun across the mouth of the cave where he was in hiding.

p. 149, l. 12. *mount Belyan.*—Baldjouna or Diloun—Bouldac, or Kentaï, in the Khanlla range of mountains, N.W. of Peking, S.E. of Irkoutsk and of Lake Baïkal (Hayton: *La Flor des Estoires*, etc., ed. 1906, l. III., c. i., p. 147 fn.).

p. 150, l. 4. *in .iiij. places.*—R.: de iii. liens, *i. e.* with three strings. The Englisher may have followed a MS. like G, which has: en iii. lieus de iii. liens, *i. e.* in three places with three strings.

p. 150, l. 20. *in .iiij. places.*—R.: de iii. liens. Here the sense is weakened by the translation.—This well-known apologue is less tersely told in Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires*, Vol. V., 1867, p. 185.

p. 150, l. 32. *After Ecchecha, etc.*—Haiton's *Flor des Estoires* is less faithfully followed from this passage onwards (ed. 1906, pp. 155-157).

p. 151, l. 4. *of so high worschiþe.*—R.: lem troua tant de tresour qe en tout le remenant de mounde en deuerait a peynes tant auoir, *i. e.* so much treasure was found that in the rest of the world there could hardly be so much. Mistranslation. The story told of the Caliph Mostassim by Haiton (pp. 168-169 of 1906 ed.) is also told by William of Tripoli of Crassus, to whom the citizens

of Cairo say : Aurum sitisti, aurum bibe ! Having thirsted for gold, do now drink gold ! (ed. Prutz, p. 583). Prutz refers the story to Manius Aquillius, at the time of the first war of Mithridates. Cf. Ezekiel, viii. 19 : . . . their silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord : they shall not satisfy their souls, neither fill their bowels.

p. 151, l. 24. *Izonge in Cathay*.—D'Outremeuse, *Miroir des Histoires* : . . . Cabila Cam . . . fondat en . . . Cathay une citeit qu'ilh nommat Iomg, qui est asseis plus grant que la grant Romme (Vol. V., 1867, p. 286). Haiton : Iste Cobila Can . . . fundavit quamdam civitatem in regno Catay que dicitur Jong, que satis est, ut dicitur, major Roma (ed. 1906, p. 294).

p. 151, l. 26. *becam a payneme*.—Haiton states that the Tartars learned the use of letters and adopted idolatry from their neighbours under Octota, but that they still revered the one great God immortal (ed. 1906, p. 157).

p. 151, l. 30. *Chan filius*, etc.—Khan, son of God above, highest emperor of all that dwell in the universe, and lord of all rulers. No source is known for this pompous style.

p. 151, l. 33. *Deus in celo*, etc.—God in Heaven, Khan on earth, his strength. Seal of the Emperor of all mankind. Brussels 10420-5 translates : Sa forche passe tout hommes. Chest ly saielh, etc. = His strength passes all men. This is the seal, etc.

p. 151, l. 36. *Dei fortitudo*, etc.—God's strength. Seal of the Emperor of all mankind. These two inscriptions on seals are said by Sir G. Warner to be from Carpini (p. 594). Brussels 10420-5 translates : le forche de dieu est plus grande que la forche de toz le hommes, *i. e.* God's strength is more than all men's strength. This and the above are samples of d'Outremeuse's carelessness and incompetence in translating Latin.

p. 152, l. 2. *beleueu in god*.—Hayton : Credunt enim [in] Deum simpliciter, et in omnibus eorum operibus invocant nomen ejus. Et credunt et confitentur unum deum immortalem [Nulli minas inferrent, nisi Deum preponerent, dicendo sic : Novit Deus quid tibi faciam, et similia] (p. 347 of 1906 ed.).

p. 152, l. 8. *solempne festes*.—Odoric : L'empereur fait iiij. grans festes en l'an, etc. (p. 378).

p. 152, l. 10. *presentacioun*.—Not in Odoric. D'Outremeuse seems to have invented it from reminiscences of the Bible. Cordier remarks that Odoric's mention of the circumcision is a



mistake, as this practice was unknown to the Mongols. The two festivals of ydoles must be those of Heaven and Earth (p. 420).

p. 152, l. 11. *Moseach*.—Mosque. This form is exceptional. Vincent de Beauvais uses Meskida (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXII., c. xlii., p. 913 of 1524 ed.), agreeing with Musketh (p. 26, l. 17). Will. Trip.: mesged, mesquida, mesgued (p. 580 ed. Prutz).

p. 152, l. 19. *be thousandes*, etc. Odoric: par dizeniers, par centeniers et par milleniers (p. 370). In the Flemish *Alexander* of Jacob Van Maerlant, the army is similarly led by chiliarchs, decurions, etc. (Bk. VI., ll. 85–88 of Frank's ed.).

p. 153, l. 3. *dubbed*.—R.: semez, *i. e.* sown, set with.

p. 153, l. 11. *clothes of gold with tysseux*, etc.—R.: des draps dor tissuz a soie vert, *i. e.* in cloth of gold interwoven with green silk. Mistranslation.

p. 153, l. 17. *of purple or of ynde*. R.: soie pourpre ou Ynde, *i. e.* purple or blue silk.

p. 154, l. 1. *philosofres*.—Odoric: en un anglet du palais sont les astronomiens qui gardent l'eure quant il sera temps de commencer (p. 378).

p. 154, l. 2. *Nigromancye*, etc.—Not in Odoric. Those terms are collected and explained in a passage quoted by Godefroy under *leuconomance*: Hydromance qui se fait avec de l'eau, leuconomance qui se fait avec des bassins, pyromance qui se fait avec le feu, geomance par le moyen de la terre, encromance, laquelle est divisée encore en deux parties, en scyomance et neciomance, lesquelles se pratiquent en parlementant avec les esprits malins, ou en suscitant les ombres et idoles errantes des morts (*Tahur. Sec. Dial. de Democr.*, p. 232, ed. 1602).

p. 154, l. 18. *boweth his hed*.—Odoric: tous hurtent par trois fois leur teste à terre (p. 378), *i. e.* all strike their heads to the ground thrice. Cordier: they kow-tow (p. 423).

p. 154, l. 29. *significaciouns*.—These explanations are not in Odoric. Probably they are d'Outremeuse's own guesses.

p. 155, l. 10. *And 3if pere falle*.—R.: Et, sil court guerre al emperour nulle part, ou qe homme face ascune contraire en toute sa terre, cis philosophes le veient tantost et le dient al emperour et a soun conseil, "Sire, lem fait maintenant tiel chose en vostre terre et en tiels parties"; et tantost ly emperers enuoie vers celles parties, *i. e.* If war arises anywhere against the emperor or if something is done against him in all his country, those philosophers

see it anon and tell it to the Emperor and to his council: Sir, they are now doing such a thing in your country and in such parts.—Either the Englisher followed a version unknown to Sir G. Warner or he translated very freely.

p. 155, l. 17. *mynstralcyte*.—Odoric: Quant l'eure est venue, touz ces menestrelx commencent à jouer de leurs instruments et font si grant noise que c'est grant hyde (p. 379), *i. e.* When the time has come, those minstrels begin to play upon their instruments, and make such a noise that it is hideous.

p. 155, l. 25. *als manye*, etc.—R.: tantz come il poet finer, *i. e.* as many as he can provide.

p. 156, l. 11. *libardes*.—Introduced by the Englisher. Odoric brings in no other animals than tame lions (p. 379). The French d'Outremeuse adds eagles, vultures, other birds, fishes and serpents. For fishes doing reverence, see p. 128, l. 18. Duplication.

p. 156, l. 15. *the sonne t the mone*.—Apparently invented by Jean d'Outremeuse.

p. 156, l. 20. *daunces*.—When the fair Isaune was shut in a stone tower, her lover the magician Eliavrès made musicians to appear, who played for her, while women danced and tumbled to amuse her (Kittredge, *Garcain and the Green Knight*, 1916, pp. 226, 297). In Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, a magician shows to Aurelius

his lady on a daunce  
On which him-self he daunced, as him thoughte.  
(p. 449 of *Cant. Tales* in *World's Classics*.)

p. 156, l. 16.—*to euery mannes sight*.—R.: pur ly faire reuerence, qi donnent si grant clarite qe a peins lun veoit lautre. The Englisher skipped twelve words, and mistranslated the last three.

p. 156, l. 22. *mylk of dyuerse bestes*.—R.: lait des iumentz, *i. e.* mare's milk, known as a Tartar delicacy from Haiton (p. 138, ed. 1906).—Odoric: Puis y a enchanteurs qui font par leur art venir hanaps d'or tous pleins de bon vin et en boivent touz ceulx qui en veulent boire (pp. 379–380). Then there are jugglers who through their cunning bring gold cups full of good wine, and whoever want to drink of it may do so.—While writing of enchantments, d'Outremeuse suggests puppet-shows or motions, a favourite amusement in his time.

p. 156, l. 35. *.xiiij. Cumantz*.—This number is from Odoric, p. 371.

p. 157, l. 8. *Ostrycches*.—R.: oustours, *i. e.* goshawks. Mistrans-



lation. Odoric briefly describes the hawking and shooting (p. 376). D'Outremeuse fills in the particulars.

p. 157, l. 14. *Phisicyens cristene*.—Odoric: médecins qui gardent le corps du roy, III<sup>e</sup> ydolatres, VIII crestiens et vii sarrazins (p. 371). See Introduction, p. 5, for Christian doctors serving Infidels.

p. 157, l. 26. *no money but of lether*.—Odoric: Car pour monnoie ne despent on riens en tout son royaume, fors une manière de brievez qui la vault en tout son pais monnoie (p. 380). Leather money was current in France under King Charles V. (*Chastellain*, ed. Kervyn, VII., 1865, p. 325).

p. 157, l. 28. *dyuersitee of his statutes*.—R.: solonc la diuersite de seinal qi y est, *i. e.* according to the variety of the marks upon it. Mistranslation. Haiton: En celui pais [Cathay] se despent monnaie faite de papier en forme quarree, signé du seignal du signor, et selonc ce que est signée vaut ou plus ou meins. Et de cele monnaie achatent e vendent toutes choses. E quant cele monnaie enpire par veillesse ou autrement, celui qui l'aura la rendra a la cort du seignor, et em prenra de nuevo (*Flor des Est.*, l. I., c. l., p. 121, ed. 1906).

p. 158, l. 2. *Rubye*.—Vincent de Beauvais describes the diamond as lighting in the dark, and being darkened by the sun in the day time (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VIII., c. xxxix., col. 513, ed. 1624). Haiton: E le roi de cele isle [Ceylon] ha la plus grant rubie e la meillor que soit en monde, e quant le seignor doit estre coronés au roi, il porte cele rubie en ses braz (*Flor des Est.*, 1906, p. 126, l. I., c. vi.). John of Hildesheim denies the report that a golden star in Cologne lights the whole church (ed. 1878, p. 32). A room lighted only with precious stones is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela as being in Constantinople, in the palace of Blachernae (Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geogr.*, II., 1901, p. 236). On luminous carbuncles in romances, see Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines*, etc., 1913, pp. 321–322.

p. 158, l. 6. *po ben*.—R.: cel la est, *i. e.* the ruby carbuncle of l. 2 is a single stone in the French original. Mistranslation.

p. 158, l. 8. *Saduz*.—Odoric: Sadu (p. 371). Cordier: Shangtu, Kubilai's summer residence in Mongolia (p. 413). Coleridge's Xanadu.

p. 158, l. 10. *Camaalech*.—Odoric: Camelech (p. 372). Cordier: Khân-Bâliq, the khan's city = Peking (p. 390).

p. 158, l. 11. *Gaydo*.—A city, not a country (see p. 140, l. 10).

p. 158, l. 12. *Jong.*—A city, as p. 151, l. 24, not a country.

p. 158, l. 15. *.iiij. hostes.*—From Odoric, p. 372.

p. 159, l. 5. *Lignum Aloes.*—Not in Odoric. Duplicate from p. 37, l. 6.

p. 159, l. 34—p. 160, l. 1.—Odoric: Tout ainsi que li rois va vont ses femmes et ses aînéz filz, chascun selon leur degré comme dessus est dit (p. 373).

p. 160, l. 2. *.xij. prouynces.*—Odoric, p. 373.

p. 161, l. 7. *Chyldydo.*—Odoric: Chiribo (var.: chidebo, Chidebeo), p. 375. Cordier: ki-di-fou in Chinese is the ostler or innkeeper (p. 419), while the French version of Odoric wrongly applies it to the inn itself.

p. 161, l. 18. *he commaundeth to, etc.*—R.: il commande a ses seignurs qi ciuachent delez ly qils facent venir ces religious, *i. e.* he orders the lords that ride beside him to make those religious men come nigh. Mistranslation.—Odoric (p. 375) was himself allowed to approach with his brethren, but the details are invented by d'Outremeuse.

p. 161, l. 22. *Galaoth.*—Sir G. Warner's Latin Odoric has *galerium*, Cordier's French has nothing. The Latin diminutive of *galea*, helmet, *galeola* and the pp. *galeatus*, helmeted, come fairly near.

p. 161, l. 29. *sum maner frute.*—Odoric: et pour ce que la guise y est telle que nulz n'y ose apparoir devant l'empereur que il ne lui doint aucune chose lui presentasmes un plat d'argent plein de pommes (p. 375).

p. 162, l. 28. *he defendeth noman to holde no laue.*—This praise of religious tolerance is not in Odoric, and confirms other passages testifying to d'Outremeuse's "indifferentism." Vincent de Beauvais: Ritus autem Christianos, et quaslibet sectas, et quorumlibet hominum cultus, secure ac libere observari permittunt inter se (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxxiv., p. 1214, ed. 1524).

p. 162, l. 30. *an .C. wyfes.*—From Carpini, in *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxvi.

p. 163, l. 3. *precious clothes.*—R.: purpures. Mistranslation.

*Ibid. clothes of Tartarye.*—R.: tartaires. Brussels 10420-5: *tartariens*.

p. 163, l. 4. *slytt at the syde.*—Vincent de Beauvais: *Habitus . . . in latere sinistro antequam induatur divisus est . . . duabus ligulis . . . insutis* (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxix., p. 1212).

p. 163, l. 6. *the hyde with outen.*—R.: le peil de hors, *i. e.* with the hair outside. Mistranslation.



p. 163, l. 6. *cappe*.—R. : ne vestent houches ne chaperoun. Godefroy defines a *houce* as a long gown with open sleeves. Mistranslation (?).

p. 163, l. 10. *mannes foot*.—Odoric : Toutes les femmes qui sont mariées ont sur leurs chiefs un pié d'homme aussi long comme un bras (p. 369). See p. 142, l. 14. Duplication. R. : fors qe les mariez qi portent lenseigne sour lour testes, *i. e.* except the married women, who wear the sign upon their heads.

p. 163, l. 19. *of wode*.—R. : de feutre, *i. e.* of felt. The English probably read : de fust, *i. e.* of wood. Mistranslation.

p. 163, l. 24. *they beleueu*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Unum quidem Deum Tartari credunt, ipsum quoque omnium esse tam visibilium quam invisibilium factorem. . . . Nihilominus etiam habent Idola quaedam de filtro . . . eaque credunt pecorum suorum custodes esse, ac beneficium pullorum et lactis eis praestare. Alia vero de pansericis faciunt. . . . Idolis offerunt primum lac omnis iumenti ac pecoris. Sed et quando primo bibere vel comedere incipiunt, primitus eis de cibariis suis, vel de potu offerunt (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxii., p. 1210). The Alexandrian romances also describe a kind of deism or naturalism agreeing with d'Outre-meuse's views : Alexander prays to the god of nature in Valerius : Deo summo rerum praesidi. "Quisquis tu deum rex es, qui praestare diceris huic terrae mundumque istum interminem regis" (ed. Kübler, 1888, p. 39). Serapis was especially meant.

p. 163, l. 29. *yroga*.—Vincent de Beauvais (as above) : Ithogo. Sir G. Warner gives Carpini's form as Ytoga (p. 626).

p. 163, l. 31. *when I was pere*.—Sir G. Warner : the author "seems to have coolly transferred to his own time a selection from Carpini's list in 1246 (p. 665) of the sons and grandsons of Yenghiz."

p. 163, l. 32. *Thiaut*.—Seems, according to Sir G. Warner, to stand for Carpini's Thaut, *i. e.* Tangut.

p. 164, l. 10. *worschipen*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Solem etiam ac lunam et ignem et aquam et terram venerantur et adorant, etc. (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxii., p. 1210).

p. 164, l. 17. *for to smyte*, etc.—R. : a soi apoier a fuet de quoy lem fiert les chiualx, *i. e.* to lean on the whip wherewith horses are beaten. Mistranslation.

p. 164, l. 18. *to breke o bon*.—Vincent de Beauvais : . . . et nullum ex ossibus eorum [animalium] confringunt, sed igne comburunt (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxii., p. 1210).

p. 164, l. 29. *passen þorgh a fuyr*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Dictum fuit nobis, quod inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite secure, quia pro nulla causa hoc volumus facere, nisi tantum ut si vos aliquod malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum ignis auferat omne malum, *i. e.* We were told to pass between two fires. As we would by no means do it, they said to us: Go safely, for we want to do it for no other reason than that the fire may remove all harm in case you mean to hurt our lord or bear poison about you (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXXI., c. xxii.). Omnes qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari (*ibid.*, c. vii.).

p. 165, l. 1. *Men of þat contree*, etc.—R.: Ils sont toutz bonez archiers et treihent molt bien; et auxi bien chiuachent et courent femmes come ly hommes, *i. e.* They are all good archers and shoot well; and women ride and race as well as men. Mistranslation. Vincent de Beauvais: Mulieres . . . equitant sicut et viri (as above).

p. 165, l. 5. *plowes*.—Not in the French. Introduced by the Englisher.

p. 165, l. 13. *but 3if þei ben*, etc.—R.: tant soient ils grantz princes, *i. e.* however great princes they may be. Mistranslation.

p. 165, l. 14. *lyberdes*.—R.: renardz, *i. e.* foxes. Mistranslation.

p. 165, l. 16. *saf only swyn*, etc.—This reference to the Mosaic law is by Jean d'Outremeuse.

p. 165, l. 21. *nouþer pesen ne benes*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Porro in victu sunt homines immundissimi atque spurcissimi, neque etiam mensalibus nec manutergiis utuntur, nec panem habent vel curant, sed quidam ipsum etiam comedere dedignantur. Olera quoque vel legumina non habent, nec aliquid aliud, quam carnes ut comedant. De quibus etiam tam paucas manducant, quod aliae nationes vix inde vivere possunt. Porro omne carniū genus praeterquam mutae, quia non gignit, comedunt, et hoc turpissime rapaciterque tangentes pingua, digitos suos lambunt, et ocreis suis tergunt. Solent tamen maiores aliquos habere panniculos cum quibus ad ultimum tergunt, manus commesturi non lavant, nec posta scutellas. Et si aliquando eas brodio carniū abluunt iterum loturam cum carnibus in olla reponunt, aliter etiam non lavant ollas vel coclearia, vel alia huiusmodi vasa. In carnibus autem equinis plus delectantur quam in aliis. Ratos etiam, et canes edunt, et cattos libentissime comedunt, vinum libentissime bibunt, quando habere possunt, lacte iumentino, quod ipsi Camous



vocant, quotidie sicut et homines caeteri vino forti se inebriant (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxviii.).

p. 166, l. 4. *to destroyen*, etc.—R. : dencloure lour enemys, *i. e.* to surround their enemies. Mistranslation.

p. 166, l. 6. *gret ax*.—Brussels 10420-5 : vne grande lanche, *i. e.* a long lance. The Englisher follows R. : vne grant hache.

p. 166, l. 7. *speres*.—R. : espeies, *i. e.* swords. Mistranslation.

p. 166, l. 8. *guyrboylle*.—R. : cuir boily, *i. e.* cuir bouilli. Vincent de Beauvais : Armati autem sunt coriis. . . . Capellos habent de corio . . . gladiosque parvos ut Saraceni longitudinis unius brachij, et unius incisionis seu cesurae (l. XXIX., c. lxxix., p. 1212, ed. 1524).

p. 166, l. 11. *pei behoten*.—Vincent de Beauvais : blande loquuntur obsessis, multaque fallaciter, ut in eorum manus se tradant, promittunt eis. Cum illi se reddiderint, vel capti fuerint, omnes occidunt exceptis artificis (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxxiii., p. 1213, ed. 1524).

p. 166, l. 15. *kutten of hire eres*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Itaque cum caepissent. . . . Driabaldin civitatem in Perside, ad suae crudelitatis ostensionem, et audituris incutiendum timorem, omnibus habitatoribus illius decapitatis, aures rebellium sibi iam mortuorum absciderunt ; duosque summarios oneratos auribus in aceto positis ad Chaam transmiserunt (*ibid.*, p. 1214).

p. 166, l. 16. *pei maken gret seruyse*.—R. : ils fount entremes pur les grantz seignurs. A characteristic joke in the taste of Jean d'Outremeuse.

p. 166, l. 18. *vnder hire subieccioun*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Aliud quoque statutum habent, quod omnem terram sibi debeant subiugare, nec cum aliqua gente pacem habere, nisi subdatur eis quousque veniat tempus ipsorum interfectionis. Annis 80 debent pugnare, et 18 tantummodo regnare, post hoc ut ipsi dicunt ab alia natione debent vinci, ut vaticinatum est eis, nesciunt autem quae illa sit (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxiii., p. 1210, ed. 1524).

p. 166, l. 23. *folk of all lawes*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxxiv., p. 1214, ed. 1524. See p. 162, l. 28. Duplicate.

p. 166, l. 26. *ymage all naked*.—This licentious praise of Adamism is d'Outremeuse's own.

p. 166, l. 33. *it is gret drede*.—Hayton : Pugna Tatarorum est valde periculosa, et in uno parvo bello Tatarorum plures moriuntur

quam in alio bello alterius nationis, et hoc est propter sagittas quas proiciunt fortiter et directe; et sunt ita docti in arte sagictandi quod sagiete eorum fere armorum penetrant omne genus. Quando Tataři vertunt in fugam, fugiunt omnes simul per turmas et acies ordinatas. . . . Exercitus Tatarorum non est magne apparencie, qui omnes simul congregatim incedunt, ita quod acies mille Tatarorum quingentorum apparenciam non habet (*F.H.T.O.*, l. III., c. xlix., p. 338, ed. 1906). Similarly Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxi., p. 1210.

p. 167, l. 2. *pei cone wel wynnenn*.—Hayton: Tataři terras alienas sciunt faciliter occupare, sed illas nolunt custodire, quia in [castris et] civitatibus nesciunt habitare, immo potius esse desiderant in tentoriis et in campis (*ibid.* p. 339). Vincent, as above.

p. 167, l. 7. *smale eyen*.—Hayton, l. I., c. i., p. 131.

p. 167, l. 8. *pei ben false*.—Hayton: libenter menciuntur (l. III., c. xlix., p. 339).

p. 167, l. 13. *whan ony man schall dye*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Cum aliquis eorum ad mortem infirmatur, hasta una in eius statione erigetur, et circa illa filtrum nigrum circumvolvitur; extunc nullus audet intrare terminos stationis illius. Cumque fuerit mortuus, si de minoribus est, occulte in campis sepelitur, cum uno tentorio suo, sedendo in medio eius ponuntque mensam ante illum, et alveolum carnibus plenum, et lactis iumentini ciphum, sepelitur etiam cum eo iumentum unum cum pullo, et equus cum sella et freno. Alium autem comedunt, et cum stramine corium eius implentes, super duo ligna vel quatuor in alto ponunt, quae omnia faciunt pro mortuo ut habeat tentorium, et etiam iumentum in alio mundo; de quo scilicet iumento lac habere possit, et equos sibi multiplicare, in quibus tunc possit equitare (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXIX., c. lxxxvi., p. 1214).

p. 167, l. 37. *entered preuylly*.—Vincent de Beauvais: Si vero dives et magnus homo fuerit, Tartarus qui moritur cum habitu preciosissimo sepelitur, ac remotius ab omnibus in abscondito loco ne habitu suo spoliatur (*ibid.*, p. 1215).

p. 168, l. 10. *pei seye to him*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. XXXI., c. xxxii.

p. 168, l. 19. *vpon a blak stede*.—R.: sour vne feutre noir, i. e. upon a black felt (carpet). Mistranslation.

p. 168, l. 27. Brussels 10420-5 here inserts a so-called Tartar alphabet.

p. 169, l. 1. *Asye the depe*.—Hayton: E cele partie qui est devers orient est apellée Aise la Profunde, e cele qui est devers



occident est apellée Aise la Majour (*F.H.T.O.*, l. I., c. v., p. 125, ed. 1906).

p. 169, l. 3. *Cathay*.—Hayton's first Book is divided into fourteen chapters, devoted to the following countries : Cathay, Tharse, Turquesten, Corasme, Comaine, Inde, Perse, Mede, Ermenie, Jorgie, Caldec, Mesopotame, Turquie, Syrie. They appear in the same order in the present passage of the *Mandeville*.

p. 169, l. 4. *Tharse, the whiche*.—R. : qi fust a vn de rois, *i. e.* which belonged to one of the Kings. Mistranslation. Sir G. Warner describes this tradition as an absurd inference from Ps. lxxii. 10 : The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents. Hayton explains that the Uighurs were all idolaters, except the kindred of the Three Kings, from whom the Tartar lords who were still Christians were descended (*F.H.T.O.*, l. I., c. ii., p. 122, ed. 1906).

p. 169, l. 7. *no flesch*.—From Hayton (*ibid.*).

p. 169, l. 13. *Octorar*.—Hayton : Octerar (*ibid.* p. 123). The ancient city of Farab, on the right bank of the Sir-Daria, south-east of the Sea of Aral. Hayton : En celui roiaume ha poi de bones cités, mas il i ha grans plainures e bones pastures ; e por ce, cele gent sunt presque tous pastours et sunt herbergies en tentes e en teles maisons que legierement les portent de luec en autre. En celui pais ne croit forment ne orge, si petit non, millet et ris mangent. Vin n'en ont point, mes il boivent cervoise e autres bevrages (*ibid.*).

p. 169, l. 23. *pat dwelleden in Grece*.—R. : qi demoerent en Griece. Mistranslation. This reference to Cumanians settled in Greece is not in Hayton. Otherwise, this passage follows Hayton (*F.H.T.O.*, l. I., c. v., p. 124).

p. 170, l. 4. *men han foughten*.—Hayton : i passent dessus (*ibid.*), people cross it. D'Outremeuse introduces the warlike note from the Alexandrian romances : Alexander crosses the river Stranga on the ice, Darius's army is drowned in the thawing (A. Ausfeld's ed. of *Alexander-Roman* : 1907, pp. 70–73). The French text reports only 100,000 warriors on each side ; the Englisher or the Cotton scribe doubles that number !

p. 170, l. 7. *And betwene, etc.*—R. : Et entre celle riuere et la grante mer oceane, qils appellent la mer Maure, gist toutz cis royalmes. Brussels 10420–5 : Celle riuier entre en la grande meir oceane quil appellent la meir morte, *i. e.* This river falls into the great sea ocean, which they call the Dead Sea ! D'Outremeuse

inextricably confuses the sensible information contained in Hayton, pp. 124–125.

p. 170, l. 9. *the see Maure*.—Hayton: mer Majour (p. 124). Sir G. Warner explains mare maurum as the Black Sea, from Byzantine Greek μαῦρος = 'black.

p. 170, l. 13. *daungerous passage*. Hayton: l'autre voie' est par le Derbent, qui vaist près de la cité que Alixandre fonda, que est nomée Porte de Fer. (as above, p. 216).

p. 170, l. 17. *gate of helle*.—The Englisher appears to have read: porte d'enfer, possibly remembering the volcanoes of p. 36, l. 6.

p. 170, l. 18. *Sarak*.—Hayton: Sera (p. 215), explained as Seraï, on the Aktouba, a tributary of the Volga.

p. 170, l. 25. *the grete see*.—R.: par la grant mer. Hayton mentions the mer Major (p. 216) in this connection. Jean d'Outremeuse read the major or greater sea, like Boldensele (1885, p. 29), a name possibly inspired by the classical name of the Mediterranean: mare Magnum, or the great sea. See notes to p. 170, l. 9, and to p. 95, l. 17.

p. 170, l. 25. *Abchaz*.—Hayton: Abcas (p. 216), explained as Abkhasia, modern Abazia, on the Black Sea, north of the Caucasus.

p. 171, l. 18. *Boyturra*.—Hayton: Boccara (p. 126).

p. 171, l. 19. *Sormagant*.—Hayton: Semorgant (p. 127).

p. 171, l. 25. *Nessabor, Saphon & Sarmassane*.—Hayton: Nesabor, Spahen (p. 127). The third name seems to be another variant for Samarkand, smuggled in out of place by d'Outremeuse.

p. 172, l. 3. *Taurizo*.—Hayton: Touris (p. 128):

p. 172, l. 11. *Cordynes*.—Hayton: Cordins (p. 127), explained as Kurds.

p. 172, l. 12. *Sarras*.—Hayton: Seras (p. 127).

p. 172, l. 13. *Karemen*.—Hayton: Queremen (p. 127), explained as Kermanchâh.

p. 172, l. 15. *Abzor*.—Hayton: Albors (p. 129). The note states that the name Alburz is found applying to the eastern, and Elbrouz to the western part of the Caucasus.

p. 172, l. 16. *Alamo*.—Hayton refers to the "aloen" alphabet (p. 128), to Alanie (p. 129) in Georgia, and to Aloen (p. 139) in Armenia.

p. 172, l. 29. *Haunyson*.—Hayton: Hamsen (p. 129); fn., Hampasi.

p. 172, l. 36. *Saures*.—Hayton: Savoureux (p. 129, fn.).



p. 173, l. 7. *Megon*.—Hayton : Mougān (p. 130), explained as Moughān, a district of Persia near the Caspian. Appears as Monglin in d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires* (t. V., 1867, p. 193).

p. 173, l. 18. *confounded in darkness*.—This story is expanded from Hayton (pp. 129–130, ch. x.), who bears witness to having seen the land of Darkness himself. The romance of *Alexander* (ed. Ausfeld, 1907, p. 169) reports marches in the dark, explained as night-marches through the desert of Gedrosia. (See also Nöldeke, *Alexanderroman*, 1890, p. 25, and Friedländer, *Chadhir*, 193, p. 12.) John of Hildesheim reports that the Roman emperor Heraclius, being hard pressed by the Saracens, called on the Three Kings, who covered the Infidels with darkness (ed. 1878, pp. 26–27).

p. 173, l. 19. *A Domino*.—Ps. cxviii., 23 : 'This is the Lord's doing ; it is marvellous in our eyes.

p. 173, l. 30. *Quoniam*, etc.—Should be : Quomodo. Possibly the Englisher's misquotation from Deut. xxxii. 30 : How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight ?

p. 173, l. 32. *Et cadent*.—Ps. xci. 7 : A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand.

p. 173, l. 34. *Quia manus*.—Perhaps a misquotation : Because the Lord's hand did all this.

p. 173, l. 36. *Si in vijis*.—Ps. lxxxi. 13–14 : O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways ! I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.

p. 174, l. 2. *may not endure*n.—Such pious commonplaces may be applied ironically : the triumphs of the Paynim in Palestine may be considered as a condemnation of the Western Church.

p. 174, l. 12. *Omnibus diebus*.—I advise you to partake of communion every Sunday. This could not be identified in St. Paul. It may be due to a slip in d'Outremeuse's memory. The practice of daily communion has lately been revived in the Roman Church.

p. 174, l. 16. *Quesiton*.—Hayton : Quisitun (p. 133), explained as the province of Saroukhan.

Ibid. *Gemeth*.—Hayton : Geneth (p. 133), explained as the province of Djanik on the Black Sea.

p. 174, l. 25. *Maraga*.—Hayton : Moraga (p. 138). The fn.

to p. 139 states that Hayton confounded the city of Maragah, south of Tabriz, with the river Mourghâb, near Merv.

p. 174, l. 29. *vnto a cytee*.—R.: a vne citee, i.e. at a city. Mistranslation.

p. 174, l. 35. *Symar*.—Hayton: Simar (p. 131), explained as Sindjâr, to the west of Mossoul.

p. 174, l. 36. *Lyson*.—Hayton: Bysson (p. 131), explained as Behseny, a town and mountain of Diarbekir, on the Arban-Tchay.

p. 175, l. 23. *Bacharye*.—Unexplained. Sir G. Warner guesses Bactria.

p. 175, l. 24. *Culdilhe*.—Odoric: Cadili, *alias* Caloy (p. 425), explained as a Tartar kingdom on the Volga. Cordier quotes: *Tartarorum horda primaria Zauolha est* (p. 427). Jean d'Outre-meuse, in his *Miroir des Histoires*, calls it Cadilla, and takes his hero Ogier the Dane to it. His account is nearly identical with the present (III., 1873, p. 64).

p. 175, l. 28. *lomb withouten wolle*.—Cordier: a polypod; *Polypodium barometz*, L. (p. 426).

p. 175, l. 30. *I haue eten*.—Not in the French original.

p. 176, l. 3. *Bernakes*.—Vincent de Beauvais: *Bartlathes sunt aves de ligno crescentes, quas vulgus bernacas appellat . . . decidunt, ac sicut aves caeterae volare incipiunt. Verumtamen nisi decidentes cito aquas invenerint, vivere non possunt, . . . carnibus earum in quadragesima. . . . Christiani uti solebant* (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XVI., c. xl., col. 1181). The bartlathes are birds growing on wood and called bernacae by the vulgar. They fall off and begin to fly like other birds. If, however, they do not find water soon after their fall, they cannot live. Their flesh used to be eaten by Christians in Lent. H. Littledale explains that the eating of such birds in Lent was justified by the assertion that they were really transformed barnacles or shellfish. The etymology is given as *Hibernicula* (because permitted by Irish bishops) and \* *pernacula*, \* *perna*, a kind of shell-fish (*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, Vol. I, p. 520.—N.E.D. refers to Max Müller, *Lect. Sc. Lang.*, ed. 7, II., 583–604). Odoric states that the vegetable lamb is no more impossible than the goose growing on a tree! (p. 426).

p. 176, l. 9. *longe apples*.—Duplicate of p. 31, l. 26. Sir G. Warner traces this to Jacques de Vitry (p. 1099) and identifies the fruit with the plantain, which is allied to the banana.

p. 176, l. 12. *large of .ij. fote long*.—R.: *larges de deux pies*

MANDEVILLE.

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de long. The Englisher repeatedly confuses longueur and largeur, length and breadth. Brussels 10420-5 : de ij pies de long et demy piet de large.—Brussels 11141 : de iij piez de long ou de plus et de vng piet de large.

p. 176, l. 16. *a strong man*.—Possibly a reminiscence from the heavy cluster of grapes of Numbers, xiii. 23.

p. 176, l. 19. *Vber*.—Aethicus speaks of two mountains as ubera aquilonis, *i.e.* the breasts of the North Wind, and the *Pseudo-Methodius* tells how those two mountains came together at Alexander's request, that he might enclose his enemies with brazen gates (*Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. Sackur, 1898, pp. 73-74).

p. 176, l. 21. *Goth & Magoth*.—In the *Roman d'Alexander*, Gos and Margos join Porus against Alexander (éd. Michelant, 1846, p. 300). Gog and Magog (Ezekiel xxxviii., xxxix. and Revelation xx. 8) were traditionally identified with the Tartars or with the Ten Tribes.

p. 176, l. 22. *.xxij. kynyes*.—Nöldeke states that the number of barbarian kings subdued by Alexander is given as twenty-two, while the Hellenic kings are fourteen (*Alexanderroman*, 1890, p. 8).

p. 176, l. 31. *pei dwellen pere*.—One version of the legend prophesies that Gog and Magog shall be destroyed by a Roman king. G. Grion refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon (*Alessandro Magno*, 1872, p. cxxxiv.).

p. 177, l. 1. *goth out be londe*.—R. : ist fors par terre. Brussels 10420-5 : ist fours de terre par dessouz lez montanges. Probably d'Outremeuse meant that the water escaped through a subterraneous passage, like the Nile on p. 28, l. 11.

p. 177, l. 5. *lake*.—Boldensele points out that the Caspian joins neither the Ocean, nor the Mediterranean, nor the Black Sea by a visible arm, and concludes that there must be an underground connection (ed. 1855, p. 30).

p. 177, l. 13. *the queen of Amazoine*.—Sir G. Warner quotes Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* :

Bot pai er noght swa closed about  
pat pai ne mught lightly com out,  
Yif a qwene ne war pat hades pam in,  
Thurgh strengthe, pat pai may noght out wyn,  
pat es cald be qwene of Amazons,  
Under whas powere pat folk wons.

(ed. R. Morris, p. 121.)

The reign of a woman and the return of the Ten Tribes were

numbered among the signs announcing Doomsday (R. Taylor : *Polit. Prophecy*, 1911, p. 34).

p. 177, l. 21. *litill issue*.—Sir G. Warner believes this to be copied from Brunetto Latini's account of the Caspian gates (I. 4, 123, p. 157).

p. 177, l. 29. *Clyron*.—Identified by Sir G. Warner with B. Latini's Direu.

p. 178, l. 11. *fox*.—Sir G. Warner recalls that in Pausanias (IV. 18) the Messenian hero Aristomenes escapes by grasping a fox's tail and following him. Nehemiah iv. 3 : if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.

Ibid. *trayne*.—R. : taignere, *i. e.* den. The Englisher seems to have thought of the meaning enticement, stratagem (see Stratmann-Bradley, under train).

p. 178, l. 24. *pat issue*.—This story of the fox appears to be invented by d'Outremeuse.

p. 178, l. 25.—*Bacharie*.—Bactria, mentioned in the Alexandrian romances. Bovenschen refers to the *Historia de Proeliis*, c. lxxxviii.

p. 178, l. 26. *trees pat beren icolle*.—The cotton trees (*Hist. de Proel.*, *ibid.*).

p. 178, l. 29. *Ypotaynes*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Hippotamus vocatus est, eo quod sit equo similis. Die in aquis commoratur, nocte segetes decessit (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XVII., c. cxxxvi., col. 1317, ed. 1624).

p. 178, l. 30. *half hors*.—Sir G. Warner thinks the hippopotamus is confused with the hippocentaur.

p. 178, l. 31. *eten men*.—Vincent de Beauvais : 200 milites ex Macedonibus leviter armatos natare jussit [Alexander]. Cumque jam partem quartam fluminis enatassent, ab Hippopotamis absorpti sunt (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV. c. liii., ed. 1624).

p. 178, l. 32. *full byttere*.—Vincent : aqua vero fluminis inventa est gustu amarior helleboro, quam nec homo bibere, nec pecus sine tormento poterat (*ibid.*, p. 131, ed. 1624).

p. 178 l. 34. *Griffounes*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Omni corporis parte leones sunt, alis et facie aquilis similes, equis vehementer infesti, et homines visos decerpunt (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XVI., c. xc., col. 1210).

p. 179, l. 2. *surhe lyouns as ben o this half*.—The lions of Liège are an obvious joke. In Vincent de Beauvais, the griffins fight



the Macedonians in India (*Spec. Hist.*, 1624, l. IV., c. lviii., p. 133, ed. 1624).

p. 179, l. 15. *Pentexoire*.—Odoric's ch. xxviii. is : De Pentexoire, la terre au prestre Jehan (p. 433).—The legend of a Christian, but Nestorian, prince, ruling in Central Asia, dates back to Crusading times, and first appeared in the twelfth century, according to Cordier. The country's name has not been satisfactorily explained. Prester John figures in Vols. III., IV. and VI. of Jean d'Outremeuse's *Miroir des Histoires*. In Vol III., Ogier meets him and makes him King and Emperor of India (pp. 52, 66, 71). In Vol IV., he is King of Tartary (p. 564). In Vol VI., he conquers Persia, leaving India to his son (pp. 389–390).

p. 179, l. 16. *full gret lond*.—Odoric says it is quite small: not one hundredth part of what is reported (p. 434).

p. 179, l. 23. *Nyse*.—In Vol. I. of d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories* (p. 139), Nysa is a town of India, founded by Bacchus.

p. 180, l. 6. *Adamant*.—Duplicate of p. 109, l. 1.

p. 180, l. 15. *t oper thing*.—R. : de ceo qi estoit deins niefs, *i. e.* from the putrefaction of what was in the ships grow those shrubs and thorns and thistles and large amount of grass. The Englisher sometimes uses the phrase other things, when he cannot translate the French.

p. 180, l. 28. *Hermes*.—Hayton : Hermès, laquelle cité Hermès le philosophes fit par grant art (*F.H.T.O.*, p. 126, ed. 1906). Explained as Ormuz, already mentioned on p. 108, l. 22. Jean d'Outremeuse drew two different names from two different sources, without suspecting that they applied to one place.

p. 180, l. 31. *Golbach*.—Hayton : Combahoth (p. 126), explained as Cambaye, north of Bombay.

p. 180, l. 35. *hony*.—R. : meel. Brussels 10420–5 : millet, *i. e.* millet. Hayton : millet (p. 126.)

p. 180, l. 36. *his wif the doughter*.—Odoric : Prestre Jehan a tousdis a femme la fille du grant Caan et ainsi leurs prédécesseurs a toujours mais (p. 434).

p. 181, l. 1. *in the same wise*.—Duplication by Jean d'Outremeuse of Odoric's statement. Brussels 10420–5 adds that Ogier the Dane ordered these double marriages when he conquered India to maintain an alliance between those two potentates.

p. 181, l. 10. *contree also*.—Brussels 10420–5 here introduces Ogier again.

p. 181, l. 15. *.lxxij. prouynces.*—Sir G. Warner traces most of these particulars to Prester John's letter (ed. Zarncke, pp. 84–88).

p. 181, l. 19. *Grauely see.*—R. : mer arenouse. Odoric : mer sablonneuse, variant : mer de Sablon (p. 45). Schofield quotes from *Pearl*, ll. 10 ff. :

In the founce ther stonden stonez stepe,  
As gleute thurgh glas that glowed and glyght,

For uche a pobbel in pole ther pyght  
Wacz emerad, saffer, other gemme gent  
That alle the loghe lemed of lyght.

(See note to p. 203, l. 21.) In Jean d'Outremeuse's *Mirror*, Vol. III., p. 65, the "meire Arenouse" is a waterless stream : unc fleu sens aighe.

p. 181, l. 26. *gode fiasch.*—Invented by d'Outremeuse.

p. 181, l. 31. *gret flood.*—Sir G. Warner : In the *Letter* the great river does not flow from Paradise, nor are its stones precious.

p. 181, l. 33. *+ it renneth*, etc.—R. : Et court coudre aual par le desert a vndis, si qe fait la mer arenouse. Brussels 10420–5 : et court tout par mie le desert dynde a ondes, si que fait lautre mere arenouse, *i. e.* and it flows right through the desert of India in waves, as does the other gravelly sea. Mistranslation.

p. 182, l. 1. *and pat gret plentee.*—R. : qi meignent molt grant bruit, *i. e.* which make a very great noise. Mistranslation.

p. 182, l. 8. *smale trees.*—The ephemeral trees of Alexandrian romances.

p. 182, l. 15. *ben horned.*—Vincent describes a crowd of horned serpents : immensa vis cerastarum [κεράστρης] (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. liv., p. 131, ed. 1624).

p. 182, l. 16. *wylde houndes.*—Brussels 10420–5 : Item ilh yat des papions grant fuison che sont chiens sauages, *i. e.* Also there are great plenty of papiouns, which are wild dogs.

p. 182, l. 17. *Psitakes.*—Vincent de Beauvais mentions the bird psitacus among the marvels of India (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxiv.). Hayton calls it by its French name papagay, and says it is as common as the sparrow is here (*F.H.T.O.*, I., p. 126).

p. 182, l. 26. *.iij. crosses.*—R. : xiiij. croiz. The larger figure is more likely to be d'Outremeuse's original.

p. 182, l. 29. *men of armes.*—R. : hommes darmes. Brussels 10420–5 : cheualiers. Meaning cavalry.

p. 182, l. 31. *Whan pat*, etc.—R. : quant homme guerroye, *i. e.* when we are at war.



p. 183, l. 5. *noble Jewelles*.—Added by d'Outremeuse.

p. 183, l. 8. *Suse*.—In d'Outremeuse's *Mirror of Histories*, Vol. I., p. 86, Susse is named as a town of India.

p. 183, l. 13. *brighte vpon the nyght*.—See note to p. 158, l. 2.

p. 183, l. 20. *degrees*.—In the *Prose Life of Alexander* (ed. Westlake), Alexander ascends the throne of Cyrus by seven steps made of the following materials: amethyst, emerald, topaze, grenade, diamond, gold and clay, which are explained allegorically (ed. 1913, p. 56). In Vincent, Alexander's nativity is told from tables of hyacinth, crystal, diamond, hematite, emerald, sapphire, and ophite (l. IV., ch. ii.).

p. 184, l. 3. *to engendre children*.—Jacques de Vitry: Alij . . . cum praegnantibus non concumbunt, ut ostendant quia non causa voluptatis, sed causa procreande prolis, uxoribus commiscuntur (*Hist. or.*, 1597, p. 158).

p. 184, l. 9. *but 3if þat*.—Brussels 10420-5: en teilh manier que en la court le gran can, *i. e.* in like manner as in the great Can's court. Mistranslation.

p. 184, l. 10. *pei eten*.—R.: Et si mangent toutz les iours en sa court plus de xxx. mil persones. Brussels 10420-5: ilh mangnoit, *i. e.* there were daily more than thirty thousand people eating at his court. The Englisher mistook the impersonal singular il for the personal plural ils = they. Mistranslation.

p. 184, l. 26. *of a dyasch*.—R.: de escuelle, *i. e.* with solid food, as a pantler or sewer, opposed to the cup-bearer or butler.

p. 184, l. 27. *Anoper is Styward*, etc.—R.: lautre est seneschal, l'autre est mareschal, lautre prince des escutz, *i. e.* another is steward, another marshal, another lord of the shields. Brussels 10420-5: prince de keux, *i. e.* chief cook.

p. 184, l. 32. *vnder vs*.—Brussels 10420-5 here inserts an alphabet. In his notes to Odoric, Cordier prints a facsimile described as "alphabet fantaisiste de la langue de Penthexoïre" (p. 442). He states that Prester John's name served as a mask for political and religious satire in a letter dated from the year 507 of our Nativity, and circulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (p. 440).

p. 184, l. 34. *Milstorak*.—Odoric: Mellestoire (var.: Millestorte, Milestorte, Melistorte, Ministorte, Mileser, Milestorite, Melensorte, Melestorte) (p. 473), explained either from the Arabic melahideh, *i. e.* heretics, infidels, or from the town of Melazgherd,

in the province of Erzerum, north of lake Van, where the Old Man of the Mountain may have had a dependency (pp. 476–8). Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Hist.*, l. XXXI., c. lxvi., p. 1307 of 1624 ed.) does not appear to have been used by the *Mandeville*, which closely follows Odoric, adding the articulate birds and beasts of p. 185, l. 14, the striplings of l. 21, the milk and honey of l. 28, the instruments of l. 35. The Assassins figure in Baudouin de Sebourg (*Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 567 ff.).

p. 184, l. 37. *Gatholonabes*.—R.: Gachalonabes. Brussels 10420–5: Sachalonabez. Unexplained. This name does not appear to occur elsewhere.

p. 185, l. 13. *dyuerse thinges*.—R.: de diuerse chose et de diuerses museries, *i.e.* various things and various pastimes.

p. 185, l. 25. *dyapred with gold*. R.: ourles dor, *i.e.* hemmed with gold. Brussels 10420–5: aourneis dor, *i.e.* adorned with gold.

p. 185, l. 37. *see the craft*.—R.: saunz veer les menistriiers, *i.e.* without seeing the minstrels. The Englisher probably read mystère. Mistranslation.

p. 186, l. 2. *Dabo vobis*, etc.—I shall give you a land flowing with milk and honey (see Levit. xx. 24). Here the application is profane. The phrase “delights of Paradise” was used by heretics in the Netherlands to cover their immoral teaching and practices (Jundt, *Panthéisme*, 1875, p. 115).

p. 186, l. 14. *scheue hem his entent*.—R.: Et lors ly presentoient affaire toute sa volunte, *i.e.* Then they would offer him to perform all his wishes. Mistranslation.

p. 186, l. 33. *destroyed*.—Brussels 10420–5 adds: Et sachies que je ly veut maint fois et yai esteit. Mais ilh astoit destrus anchois que ie y fusse, *i.e.* And you shall understand that I have often seen it and been there. But it was destroyed before I came.

p. 187, l. 6. *vale perilous*.—This name and that of vale tenebrous both occur in the Alexandrian romances (éd. Michelant, 1846, pp. 320–329). The devil offers to tell Alexander the way out, if the king will lift up the stone that crushes him. They are both released. Bunyan has at least borrowed the name (*Pilgrim's Prog.*, ed. J. Brown, 1887, p. 70). Compare the account of the Land of Darkness on pp. 172–173, and Vincent de Beauvais: Gehenna . . . a valle Idolis consecrata, quae est iuxta muros Hierusalem, olim repleta cadaveribus mortuorum. Ibi enim



Hebraei filios suos immolaverunt Daemonibus (*Spec. Nat.*, l. VI., c. xxiv., col. 385, ed. 1524).

p. 187, l. 8. *noyses*.—Odoric heard such a great noise that he was frightened, without specifying (p. 490). Cordier explains that strange echoes may occasionally be heard in sandy deserts.

p. 187, l. 10. *full of deuues*.—Odoric, having seen the face of a dead man, was told by the Saracens that the corpses in that valley were all devils of hell (491–492).

p. 187, l. 13. *gold & syluer*.—Odoric found some money (argent) (p. 491).

p. 187, l. 18. *an hed*.—The face seen by Odoric.

p. 187, l. 23. *dye*.—R. : defailler, *i.e.* swoon. Mistranslation.

p. 188, l. 14. *Frere Menoures*.—Odoric reports in the preceding chapter (xxxi., p. 485) how the minorite brethren expel evil spirits. Our present narrative is fictitious.

p. 188, l. 15. *lombardy*.—Odoric was born at Pordenone in Frioul, some distance from Lombardy, and his travelling companion was Irish. Jean d'Outremeuse uses Lombardy to denote all Northern Italy.

p. 188, l. 27. *gold & syluer*.—Duplicate of p. 187, l. 13.

p. 188, l. 30. *I touched none*.—Odoric took some money in his lap, but left it behind (p. 491). The probable reason is that he had taken a vow of poverty. The pretended conduct of Mandeville is unaccountable. Cf. 2 Chronicles xx. 25: . . . they found among them in abundance both riches with the dead bodies, and precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves, etc.

p. 188, l. 34. *more deuout*.—That the author of *Mandeville* never was pious, except in the Vale Perilous, is one of the few credible statements in his book.

p. 188, l. 37. *be all the vale*.—R. : par toute la valle, *i.e.* throughout the valley. Mistranslation.

p. 189, l. 3. *And I trowe*.—The syntax here is quite independent of the French original, which is involved, but comprehensible.

p. 189, l. 13. *weren of suche*.—R. : qils estoient deceux, *i.e.* that they were beguiled or seduced from the faith by covetousness. The Englisher read *de ceux* = among those, and altered the construction accordingly. Mistranslation.

p. 189, l. 17. *And ȝit*, etc.—Brussels 10420–5 here has about three pages of redundant particulars, not occurring in R., which is

followed by the Englisher. Odoric is now abandoned for a time.

p. 189, l. 23. *.xxviij. fote.*—No source known for that figure. Vincent de Beauvais knows of giants 33 cubits high (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxv., col. 2392, ed. 1524). The men of 50 cubits (l. 34) are probably from Vincent, who knows a young lady of that height (*ibid.*).

p. 189, l. 37. *deuoured anon.*—An allusion to Polyphemus and the sailors of Ulysses; Vincent de Beauvais on Cyclops: . . . unus eorum in antro suo resupinus iacens, una manu duos viros tenens crudos manducabat (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxvi., col. 2392, ed. 1524).

p. 190, l. 1. *scheep als grete as oxen.*—The Crusading chroniclers relate that in Asia Minor the Crusaders had to be carried on the backs of large sheep (Michaud, *Bibl. d. Crois.*, 1829, Vol. I., p. 7; Tiedau, *Chanson d'Antioche*, 1912, pp. 18-19).

p. 190, l. 5. *.ij. in anoper.*—Duplication of Vincent. See above, note to p. 189, l. 37.

*Ibid.* *etyngge hem goynge.*—R.: les aloient mangeantz, *i. e.* were eating them. Mistranslation.

p. 190, l. 6. *toward the north.*—R.: vers austre, *i. e.* to the South. Mistranslation.

p. 190, l. 8. *precious stones.*—Vincent de Beauvais: Apollonides perhibet in Scythia foeminas nasci, quae Bithiae vocantur, hasque in oculis pupillas habere geminas, et perimere visu, si forte iratae aliquem aspexerint, hae sunt et in Sardinia (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxiv., col. 2391, ed. 1524). The *Romant d'Alexandre* tells of snakes with female faces and with bright gems in the centre of their foreheads:

viaires ont de fames, mult sunt grant figurées.  
sor les espaules gisent les grans crines dorées;  
cescune d'une pierre sont toutes estelées,  
en mi le front lor siuent, mult i sunt bien posées  
mais plus grant clarté jete que candelles cirées.

(éd. Michelant, 1846, p. 294, ll. 2 ff.)

The poet probably read *gemmas* = precious stones for Vincent's *geminas* = double pupils.

p. 190, l. 17. *Cadeberiz.*—Unexplained. In the Alexandrian romances, a fair girl fed on serpents and on venom is sent to Alexander by a queen of India. Aristotle foresees that she might bring death to the king (J. Franck, Introduction to J. van



Maerlant's *Alexander*, p. xx., ed. 1882). Sir G. Warner quotes Vincent de Beauvais : *Augylae vero solos colunt infernos foeminas suas primis noctibus nuptiarum adulteriis cogunt patere, mox ad perpetuam pudicitiam legibus stringunt severissimis* (*Spec. Hist.*, I. 88). The boy who takes money to act as substitute for a husband is the theme of a Medieval fabliau (*Van den cnape van Dordrecht*, ed. E. Verwijs, *X. goede boerden*, 1860). This may have been contaminated with the Alexandrian tale by d'Outremeuse. In the sixteenth century it was used by Machiavelli in the second act of his *Mandragola*.

p. 190, l. 25. *schall pleyne*, etc.—R. : il soy pleindroit du vallet, qe naueroit mie fait soun deuer, auxi bien come si li vallet ly vousist tuer, *i. e.* he would complain of the boy, that he did not do his duty, just as if the boy had wanted to kill him. Mis-translation.

p. 191, l. 2. *gret sorwe*.—Vincent de Beauvais : recens natum fletu parens excipit et e contra lacta sunt funera, adeo ut exemptos gaudiis prosequantur (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., ch. lxxxix.).

p. 191, l. 7. *brennen hem*.—Duplicate of p. 114, ll. 5–17.

p. 191, l. 18. *electioun*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxxxix.

p. 192, l. 1. *another yle*.—Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. xc.

p. 192, l. 13. *noman knoweth*.—This joke is not in Vincent.

p. 192, l. 17. *cokodrilles*.—Vincent de Beauvais : De crocodilo . . . In terra et in aqua valens, . . . nocte in aquis, die humi quiescit . . . linguam non habet . . . Hyeme cibum nullum capiunt . . . Crocodilus siquando invenerit hominem, et potest eum vincere comedit eum, et postea super eum plorat. Solus in animalibus oris superiora movet et inferiora manent immota (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XVII., c. cvi., ed. 1624).

p. 92, l. 21. *as in a drem*.—R. : en agone. Vincent : Hyeme cibum nullum capiunt (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XVII., c. cvi., col. 1302, ed. 1524).

p. 192, l. 26. *cotoun*.—Sir G. Warner quotes Jacques de Vitry : Sunt ibi praeterea arbusta quaedam, quae seminantur, ex quibus colligunt bombacem, quae (*sic*) Francigenae cottonem seu coton appellant, et est quasi medium inter lanam et sericum, ex quo subtilia vestimenta contexuntur (p. 1099).

p. 192, l. 32. *abyden all quykh*.—Vincent de Beauvais : Juniperus

gracce dicta est . . . eo quod conceptum ignem diu teneat (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XII., c. lxxi., col. 922, ed. 1624).

p. 192, l. 34. *of nature*.—R.: de bonus, *i. e.* of ebony. Mis-translation. Vincent: eademque virtus est junipero, quae et cedro, cujus materies olco peruncta, nec ruinam nec cariem sentit (*ibid.*).

p. 192, l. 36. *as a mannes hed*.—The cocoa-nut, nux Indica (Vincent, *Spec. Nat.*, l. XIV., c. li.), already mentioned on p. 176, l. 14.

p. 192, l. 37. *Orafles*.—Another form of the word giraffe. Vincent calls it camelopardus (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XIX., c. ix.).

p. 193, l. 1. *Gerfauntz*.—Another form of giraffe, assimilated to elefaunt (*N.E.D.*).

*Ibid.* *pomelee*.—R.: techchele, *i. e.* spotted; pomeli in Stratmann-Bradley.

p. 193, l. 6. *Cumles*.—Vincent: Chamaeleon non habet unum colorem, sed diversa varietate conspersus est . . . corpusculum. . . . Hiatus eius aeternus ac sine usus illius ministerio. Quippe cum neque cibum capiat, neque potu alatur, nec alimento alio quam hausto aere vivat. Color varius et in momento mutabilis (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XIX., c. vi., p. 1386, ed. 1624).

p. 193, l. 12. *grete serpentes*.—The serpent of Mount Tygris, which Baudouin de Beauvais and the other “Chétifs” had to fight in the Crusading epics, was blue, white, yellow, green, black and red, covered itself with long ears when it grew angry, and wore in its forehead a gem that shone in the dark (*Godef. de Bouillon*, éd. Hippeau, 1877, p. 211).

p. 193, l. 18. *throte open*.—The threatening attitude of the serpent Satenas in the *Chétifs*:

Longement ot la beste sa grant gole baée.

(éd. Hippeau, 1877, p. 426).

p. 193, l. 20. *swyn*.—Vincent: apri ingentis formae (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. liv., p. 132, ed. 1624).

p. 193, l. 24. *lyouns all white*.—Vincent: albi leones (*ibid.*).

p. 193, l. 26. *Loerancz*.—I suspect derivation from the Lestrigons, imagined as man-eating monsters in the Middle Ages.

p. 194, l. 27. *Odenthos*.—Vincent: una bestia major elephante tribus armata in fronte cornibus: quam Indi appellant Odontatyrannum (*sic*) capitis equini: coloris atri (as in note to p. 193, l. 20). Originally, its name was odontotyrannos; its French form in the



Crusading epic is *dentuant* = *dent* + *tyran* (*Chanson d'Antioche*, quoted by Pigeonneau, *Le Cycle des Croisades*, 1877, p. 108).

p. 193, l. 29. *sclendre*.—R.: *ffauues*, *i. e.* tawny. Perhaps the Englisher read *flo* = *flue*, weak. Mistranslation.

p. 193, l. 32. *.iij. feet*.—Vincent has a monster, "*pedum . . . binorum ternorumque*," *i. e.* two- or three-footed (?) (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. lviii.). D'Outremeuse makes it six-footed.

p. 193, l. 35. *myse*.—Duplicate of the giant rats of p. 111, l. 19.

Ibid. *3alowe myse*.—R.: *chauue soriz*, *i. e.* bats. The Englisher read *jaune* instead of *chauve*. Mistranslation.

p. 193, l. 36. *Gees*.—Probably invented by d'Outremeuse.

p. 194, l. 10. *kyndely laue*.—*Lex naturae*, *sive naturalis* was a current phrase (see Schütz, *Thomas-Lexikon*, 1895, p. 443), opposed to written law or Scripture. Jacques de Vitry: *Ex his patet quam religiose et secundum legem naturae vixissent isti Brachmani qui nec legem Mosaicam nec legem euangelij audierant . . .* (*Hist. or.*, ed. 1597, pp. 212–213). The word *lex*, law, also meant religion, especially among the Averroists, who placed the various religions on the same level (Renan, *Averroes*, 1866, p. 359). The English doctor Mandeville may have made the younger notary d'Outremeuse acquainted with such views. "*Médecine, averroïsme, astrologie, incrédulité, devinrent des termes presque synonymes*" (*ibid.*, pp. 327–328). In Valerius, the Brahman Dindimus writes to Alexander:

*Una genti lex est: contra ius non ire naturae.*

(ed. Kuebler, 1888, p. 172).

A Wycliffite proposition condemned by Simon Langham is given as follows: nature has sufficient means to achieve the natural end of man, if by natural end is meant everlasting bliss (Magnan: *Histoire d'Urbain V.*, 1862).

p. 194, l. 16. *And 3if no charge*, etc.—R.: *ne nount cure dauoir ne de richesse*, *i. e.* do not care about property or wealth. The *N.O.D.* classifies the phrase: to give no charge of = to make of no account, under *charge*, sb. 9 b, but gives no example. *3if* here stands for give, 3rd pers. pl., ind. pres.

p. 194, l. 23. *Thebe*.—Bovenschen refers to the river Tabobenus in the *Historia de Preliis* (p. 223), Sir G. Warner to the river Tiberoboam in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (III., 13, p. 110), and Jul. Valerius.

p. 194, l. 26. *no thef, etc.*—Vincent: Apud Seres, neque meretrix, neque adultera, neque fur ad iudicium ducitur, neque occisus homo fertur aliquando. Sed apud eos legum suorum metus vehementior, quam gensis constellatio: hi in initio orbis terrae habitant. Seres quia caste vivunt, nec aerugine, nec grandine, nec pestilentia, et malis huiusmodi affliguntur, quia nec post conceptum adiri ultra apud eos foemina fas est, neque cum purgatur. Carnibus immundis nemo ibi vescitur, sacrificia nemo novit. Secundum iustitiam omnes sibi ipsi iudices fiunt, ideo non castigantur huiusmodi plagis, sed plurimum temporis in vita durantes absque aegritudine vitam finiunt (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxix., col. 2394–5).

p. 194, l. 29. *weren religious, etc.*—R.: et si sount si chastes et meignent si bone vie come nuls religious purtoient faire, *i. e.* they are as chaste and lead as good lives as any religious men might do.

p. 195, l. 5. *is plesed, etc.*—R.: et prent a gre lour creaunce et lour bons ourez, *i. e.* allows their belief and their good deeds. The French original is heretical: how can God approve of the belief of infidels? The Englisher balances the good deeds against the evil faith, which seems more orthodox. Mistranslation.

p. 195, l. 11. *And it befell, etc.*—R.: En le temps iadis le roy Alisandre enuoya despier (Brussels 10420–5 defjr) ceux de celle isle, pur ceo qil voloit gagner lour pais, *i. e.* In times past, king Alexander sent out to espy (defy) those of that island, because he wanted to win their country. Mistranslation.

p. 195, l. 25. *Oure wyfes, etc.*—R.: Noz femmes ne sount mie pares pur plere, ancis tendrent heal parement pur folie, quant homme se peneroit pur enbeler le corps pur faire sembler plus beau qe Dieu nel ad fait, *i. e.* our women are not adorned to please, but hold a fair array as madness, if a man is at pains to beautify the body in order to make it look fairer than God made it. Mistranslation.—Duplicate of Adamite paradoxes on p. 118, ll. 18–27.—Vincent: Nullus nobis preciosus amictus; sed membra papyri tegmine, vel quod est verius pudore velantur: feminae nostrates non ornantur ut placeant: nec sciunt in augenda pulchritudine plus affectare quam natae sunt, nam quis potest opus naturae corrigere? (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. lxviii., pp. 135–136, ed. 1624).

p. 195, l. 32. *.ij. thinges.*—Vincent: Tutius nos defendit ab imbre spelunca quam tegula, cuius geminus est nobis usus, mansionis, dum vivimus, sepulturae, dum morimur (*ibid.*).



p. 196, l. 4. *rightwisness*.—R.: iustice, *i. e.* the repression of crime. Mistranslation.

p. 196, l. 13. *Oxidrate . . . Gynosophe*.—Sir G. Warner refers to Jacques de Vitry's mention of Oxydraces seu Gymnosophistae (p. 1108) as one people. The Englisher follows R. Brussels 10420–5 applies both names to one island.

p. 197, l. 5. *And all be it*, etc.—As no source for this is known, it may be taken as original. That Job, like Adam, Henoch and Noah, was neither Jew nor Christian, but a heathen, and praised for piety nevertheless, occurs in Wolfram's *Willehalm* (306, 29), according to H. Reuter, *Gesch. d. relig. Aufklärung im Mittelalter*, II., 1877, p. 66.

p. 197, l. 16. *Ponam*, etc.—I shall give them my various laws. Can this be from Hosea viii. 12: I have written to him the great things of my law, etc.?

p. 197, l. 17. *Qui totum*, etc.—Who subjected the whole earth to his laws. Source?

p. 197, l. 18. *Alias oues*.—John x. 16: And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold.

p. 197, l. 27. *Non dicas*, etc.—Acts x. 15: What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.

p. 197, l. 30. *hateth*.—Brussels 10420–5 quotes Acts x. 34–35: Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. [Interpolation: He does not distinguish between Jews and Gentiles.] But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

p. 197, l. 32. *Pro animabus*, etc.—For the souls of all deceased for whom prayer should be offered.—A passage from the burial service, not identified with any given use. The current Roman prayer-book prays only for the faithful, not for all men.

p. 198, l. 1. *prophecyed*.—Duplicate of p. 11, l. 17: Jhesu crist schall be born, etc. The 2000 years of p. 11, l. 19 have now become 3000 or more (p. 198, l. 2)!

p. 198, l. 3. *or*.—R.: auaunt, *i. e.* before.

p. 198, l. 7. *Pytan*.—This imaginary island is, according to Sir G. Warner's guess, drawn from the name of the Trispithami, a people mentioned in Pliny after the Astomi (VII., 25).

p. 198, l. 11. *lyuen be the smell*.—Vincent: Gangis fontem qui accolunt, nullius ad escam opis indigent, cdore pomorum sylvestrium vivunt, longiusque pergentes eadem illa in praesidium gerunt, ut olfacta alantur (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxviii., ed. 1524). Imitated in the *Roman d'Alexandre*:

le dolor des espées [var. : espices] aloient tout flairant.

ne vivent d'autre cose.

(éd Michelant, 1846, p. 353.)

In Cyrano's *Voyage comique*, the inhabitants of the moon live on smoke (Borkowski, *Anglia* XV., 388).

p. 198, l. 16. *all skynned*.—Vincent: Sunt et homines quidam utriusque sexus nudi incedentes, corpus pilosum in modum bestiarum habentes, et aequè in flumine, et in terra habitantes: qui cum extraneos homines supervenire vident, in flumine submersi non apparent. Sunt agrestes magni valde, et pilosi sicut porci, et quasi feræ mugientes (*Spec. Nat.*, l. XXXI., c. cxxviii., col. 2394, ed. 1524).

p. 198, l. 20. *fissch all raugh*.—The Ichtyophagi, mentioned by Vincent (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV. c. lv.), after the Epistle of Alexander.

p. 198, l. 22. *Buemare*.—Vincent: The river Buemar is reached by Alexander after he has seen the gold simulacres of the gods Hercules and Liber (*Spec. Hist.*, l. IV., c. lv., p. 132, ed. 1624).

p. 198, l. 26. *trees of the sonne*, etc.—Vincent, *Spec. Hist.*, IV. lvi., ed. 1624.

p. 198, l. 30. *of the barne*.—Brussels 10420–5 here introduces Ogier the Dane, who, having tasted balm, was permitted to live until he asked for death.

p. 198, l. 32. *as I haue told*.—Duplicate of p. 32, ll. 13 ff.

p. 198, l. 36. *wylde bestes*.—Both the Alexandrian and the Crusading epics describe fights between heroes and beasts.

p. 199, l. 10. *wherfore*.—The story seems an original invention of Jean d'Outremeuse's. A different version occurs in the same author's *Miroir des Histoires*: Ogier crowns John to be King of India, and as this is the first king of India who believes in God, he orders all his successors to be called John, as all Roman Emperors are called Caesar after Julius Caesar (Vol. III., 1873, p. 66). This is repeated in Brussels 10420–5. John of Hildesheim has a similar tale: The Three Kings, having no heirs, elect a ruler and call him priest John, because the priest is the worthiest and most powerful of mortals (ed. 1878, p. 20). There may be an historical connection between the legend of Prester John and the Ionitus, son of Noah of *Pseudo-Methodius*: Ionitus autem, filius Noe, introivit in Enoam usque ad mare, qui vocatur hiliu chora [ἡλίου χώρα] id est regio solis, in quo solis ortum (*sic*) fit et habitavit ibidem (ed. Sackur, 1898, pp. 63–64).



p. 200, l. 3. *Popes*.—If read in conjunction with other allusions to the Papacy, this may be interpreted as blaming the Church of Rome for straying from Early Christian tradition.

p. 200, l. 6. *Taprobane*.—Vincent (*Spec. Hist.*, l. I., c. lxxix., p. 28, ed. 1624).

p. 200, l. 10. *.ij. someres*.—Vincent: In hac autem insula dicunt in uno anno duas esse aestates, et duas hyemes, et bis floribus vernare locum (*ibid.*).

p. 200, l. 21. *Orille . . . Argyte*.—Vincent: Chryse et Argere sunt insulae in Indico oceano sitae, adeo fecundae copia metallorum, ut plerique eas auream superficiem et argenteam habere prodiderint, unde et vocabula sortitae sunt (*ibid.*).

p. 200, l. 26. *Canapos*.—Canopus.

p. 200, l. 29. *Pissemynes*.—The giant ants are from Vincent, *Spec. Nat.*, XX., cxxxiv.: Formicae (ut dictum est) dicuntur esse in Aethiopia ad formam maximi canis, etc.

p. 201, l. 11. *zonge coltes*.—This stratagem occurs in Vincent and in the legends of Alexander: on entering the land of Darkness, he selects five hundred female asses, whose foals are left at the entrance (Friedländer: *Die Chadhirlegende*, 1913, p. 54).

p. 201, l. 29. *the derke Regyoun*.—Duplicate of p. 172, ll. 28 ff. One explanation of this legend is the darkening of the air through a thick cloud of dust at the battle of Arbela (A. Ausfeld: *Alexander-roman*, 1907, p. 145; the footnote refers to *Curt.*, IV., 15, 32).

p. 202, l. 17. *sche*.—R. has the feminine, as the pronoun stands for the feminine terre. The Englisher blindly follows his French original, and writes nonsense. Mistranslation. In ll. 15 and 16 the pronoun it is correctly used.

p. 202, l. 23. *mosse*.—This seems one of the whimsical inventions of d'Outremeuse. R.: Et sount ly murs toutz couertez de mosse, ceo semble et ny piert pierre nautre chose, dount ly mur soit, i. e. and the walls are all covered with moss, to all appearance, and there appears neither stone nor any other thing that the wall is made of. The initiate probably guessed the meaning of this. Baudouin de Sebourg goes to Paradise, and finds a tree the fruits of which make people young or old (*Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 573–574).

p. 202, l. 29. *.iiij. flodes*.—Vincent, *Spec. Hist.*, I., lxiii.

p. 202, l. 32. *Emlak*.—Duplicate of p. 104, l. 26.

p. 203, l. 13. *in the langage*, etc.—R.: Gyon en langage de Ethiopiens voet dire Trouble, et auxi Nil en langage Degipte est a

dire Trouble, *i. e.* Gion in the Aethiopian language means turbid, and Nile in the Egyptian language also means turbid. Possibly the word Nile was omitted and the meaning spoilt by the scribe.

p. 203, l. 17. *Tigris*.—This pun is repeated in Gauthier de Lille's (or de Chatillon's) *Alexandreis* :

Tigri velocior ipso  
Tigri qui celeri sortitur ab impetu nomen  
Tigris aquas superat.

(ed. 1863, Book III., p. 70, l. 450 ff.)

p. 203, l. 21. *may not approchen*.—Prof. W. H. Schofield compares this to the situation in the *Pearl*, where an impassable river keeps visitors out of Paradise (*Publ. M.L.A. of America*, vol. XIX., p. 190.—1904).

p. 203, l. 25. *pat ben pere*, etc.—R. : ou il y a mointz, *i. e.* literally, where there are many. Brussels 10420-5 : dont ilh yat mult, *i. e.* of which there are many. The Englisher, following a bad reading, made a bad translation.

p. 203, l. 30. *huge noyse*.—For parallels, Sir G. Warner refers to Yule's *Cathay*, p. 346.

p. 204, l. 11. *for to comen*.—R. : purroit reuenir, *i. e.* he might come back. The Englisher turns the principal clause into a prepositional phrase. Mistranslation.

p. 204, l. 19. *Casson*.—Odoric calls the capital of Prester John's land Cosan and one of its provinces Cossam : Quant on yst d'une cité tantost on voit la porte de l'autre (pp. 434-435). Cordier suggests the province of Kan-sou, capital Kan-tcheou (p. 445).

p. 204, l. 28. *And pat is*, etc.—R. : quelque part qe lem aile, *i. e.* wherever one may go. The Englisher's rendering is clumsy.

p. 205, l. 7. *Ryboth*.—Odoric (pp. 449-454).

p. 205, l. 12. *ferne*.—R. : feutre, *i. e.* felt. Odoric : fuerre (p. 449). The Englisher attempted to copy the French word which he could not understand.

p. 205, l. 14. *pathed*.—R. : paues, *i. e.* paved.

p. 205, l. 18. *lobassy*.—Odoric : En ceste cité demeure l'oba-sy, c'est à dire leur pape en leur langaige. Il est chief de tous les ydolatres et donne les benefices du pays a sa guise (p. 450). According to Cordier, the head of any Buddhist convent was styled Bakchy (pp. 459-462).

p. 205, l. 23. *whan the fader is ded*.—Almost exactly from Odoric (pp. 451-452).

MANDEVILLE.

L



p. 206, l. 7. *Subuenite*, etc.—Come, saints of God, etc. Still in present use in the Roman burial service. This comparison between the Christian priest, who calls on the saints to carry a soul to heaven, and the keeper of a tower of silence, inviting the birds to devour dead bodies, reads like a gruesome burlesque of the service.

p. 206, l. 21. *let brynge forth*.—R.: fait mettre cuyre, *i. e.* has the head put on the fire to be cooked. Mistranslation.

p. 206, l. 23. *sukkarke*.—Sub-charge in the *N.E.D.* The French original has only entremes, which is synonymous with sub-charge or sukkarke. Innocent III. allowed entremets only to earls, barons and other noblemen. French prelates were only allowed two courses, the entremets being the third (Michaud, *Bibl. d. Cr.*, I., p. 322).

p. 206, l. 35. *for he is*, etc.—R.: et trop est il riche, *i. e.* and he is passing rich.

p. 207, l. 2. *damyseles*.—Odoric: Il avoit L damoiselles vierges qui le servoient à la table et lui apportoient tous ses mez IIII doubles ou V. The close of the sentence is out of d'Outremeuse's licentious imagination. Parallels to this tale occur in legends of the land of Cockayne (Poeschel, *Schlaraffenland*, *P.B.B.*, 1878, p. 417); in Athenaeus (*ibid.*, p. 394 fn. refers to Meineke, *Fragm.*, II. 1, 299); and in the sequel to Defoe's *Crusoe*: *Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (ed. G. A. Aitken, 1895, p. 259): one [female slave] fed the squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffeta vest.

p. 207, l. 6. *.v. and .v. togedre*.—R.: elles ly apportent sa viaunde, a chescun foiz v. mes ensemble, *i. e.* they bring him his meat, each time five dishes together. Further down (l. 23) the *Mandeville* speaks of five damsels, not of five dishes. Mistranslation.

p. 207, l. 12. *to haue longe nayles*.—Odoric: Moult leur semble bel d'avoir longs ongles, etc. (p. 454).

p. 207, l. 17. *bynde hire feet*.—Odoric: Si que les mères quant elles ont filles elles leur loient les piez si que jamais ne peuvent après croistre (p. 454).

p. 207, l. 28. *dedes of Armes*.—This peculiar form of morality is in keeping with the conventions of the romances of chivalry.

p. 207, l. 35. *in the myd place*.—This seems a duplicate of the account of the palace, garden and mountour on pages 140–142.

p. 208, l. 1. *toothill*.—R.: mouster. Brussels, 10420–5:

mostier, *i. e.* minster. Stratmann-Bradley explains tote-hil as a mount of observation. Mistranslation.

p. 208, l. 15. *god of nature*.—Brussels 10420-5 : yroga, ce est a dier dieu de nature. If this is the original reading, d'Outremeuse here openly approves of idolaters.

Ibid. *Et metuent*, etc.—Ps. lxxvii. 7 : and all the ends of the earth shall fear him.

p. 208, l. 16. *Omnes gentes*.—Ps. lxxii. 11 : all nations shall serve him.

p. 208, l. 24. *pat worschipen hem*.—R. : qils adorent, *i. e.* which they worship. Mistranslation.

p. 208, l. 29. *han ymages*.—A covert hit at the worship of images.

p. 209, l. 8. *hire error*.—This heterodox peroration, begun on p. 208, l. 7, summarises the teaching of the whole book.

p. 209, l. 10. *I haue not seen*.—An imitation, or rather parody, of honest Odoric's statement (p. 497).

p. 209, l. 31. *And zee schull*, etc.—This passage, down to p. 210, l. 18, is missing in R., in Brussels 10420-5, and in the Middle English Egerton MS. printed by Sir G. Warner.

p. 209, l. 33. *holy fadir*.—Haiton similarly concludes his *Flower of Histories* by a dedication submitting it to the Pope's correction. The parody of this in the *Mandeville* is the more impudent as the Papacy is often attacked in it. Vogels points out that there was no Pope in Rome between 1309 and 1379 (*Handschriftliche Untersuchungen*, etc., 1891). According to Poeschel, the *Fabliau de Coquaigne* (thirteenth century) relates that the burlesque pilgrimage to the land of Cockayne takes place by the Pope's orders (Schlaraffenland, *P.B.B.* 1878, p. 408). Boldensele's book of Travels is dated from the Papal Court of Avignon, St. Michael's day, 1337 (ed. 1855, p. 29).

p. 210, l. 13. *Mappa Mundi*.—O. H. Prior, in his Introduction to Gossouin's *Image du Monde* (1913), reports that one MS. gives its title as Mapemonde (p. 15). Jacques de Vitry mentions mappa mundi as one of his sources at the close of his *Historia orientalis* (ed. 1597, p. 215). On a French poem : Mappemonde, see *Hist. Litt.*, Vol. XXIII., pp. 292-293.

p. 210, l. 21. *.xxij*.—Brussels 10420-5 adds : le jour de St. Michiel. See above, note to p. 209, l. 33.

p. 210, l. 27. *to reste*.—Boldensele : desideravi multum recedere



. . . ut post laborem aliquali quiete commode recrearer (ed. 1855, p. 78).

p. 210, l. 30. *fulfilled*.—R. : compilez, *i. e.* compiled. Mistranslation.

p. 210, l. 32. *Mill. .ccc. + .lvj.*—As the journey was purely fictitious, it could neither begin in 1322 nor end in 1356. At the latter date, Jean d'Outremeuse was eighteen years old, and Sir John Mandeville still had sixteen years to live.

p. 210, l. 33. *oure contrees*.—Brussels 10420-5 : de mon pays dedens le noble cite de Liège en j hosteit en la basse sauenier que ons dit al hoste herbin levo ou je gisoy malaide. sy men visentoit .j. venerable homme phisechiens ly quis moy metit en la voye de fair chi liure et moy cognut. Car ilh mauoit veut en egipte a Cayr ou je demoroy aveuc le soudans et ilh y demoroit assy li quis aydat fair le [illegible] qui est entre nos pays et egipte. Car ilh yauoit demoreit long temps, *i. e.* from my country in the noble city of Liège in a house of the Basse Sauvenière called the house of Herbin Levo where I lay sick. Here I was visited by a worshipful physician who put me in the way of making this book and who knew me for having seen me at Cairo in Egypt where I stayed with the Sowdan and he stayed there also. And he helped to make the [voyage?] that is between our land and Egypt. Cf. Introduction, pp. 4-7.

p. 211, l. 2. *graunte hem part*.—This profane joke is worthy of Reynard the Fox, when having deceived and robbed all the court, he promises to make them partners of his merits as a palmer beyond the seas.

p. 212, l. 5. *it turnes in to flesch*.—H : elle deuient char et sang. Not in Boldensele. Valerius has a story of a statue of Orpheus beginning to sweat when Alexander looks at it : Cum igitur admirationis studio simulacrum illud Alexander intueretur, sudor repente profluere et per omne simulacri illius corpus manare visus non sine admiratione videntium fluit (ed. Kühler, 1888, p. 57). The Alexandrian romances familiar to d'Outremeuse made the most of this (Nöldeke, *Der Alexanderroman*, 1890, p. 5).

p. 212, l. 6. *Bochar*.—Identified by Sir G. Warner with el-Buká'a, which separates Lebanon from Antilibanus. Schefer, note to Bertrandon de la Broquière : Les écrivains et les voyageurs du Moyen-Âge donnent le nom de Val de Noé à la plaine de la Beqa'a où ce patriarche aurait construit l'arche et planté la vigne (ed. 1892, p. 31 fn.). Ernoul connects it with the Alexandrian romances : Entre ces ij montaignes a une valée, c'on apiele le Val

Bacar, la ou li home Alexandre alerent en fuere, quant il aseia Sur. Dont cil qui le Romant en fist pour mieux mener se rime, le noma le Val de Iosaphas por se rime faire (ed. 1882, p. 56).

p. 212, l. 17. *arkez*.—Called *Archae* by Dr. Bovenschen, who refers to Jacques de Vitry, c. lxxxviii., p. 167, and Foucher de Chartres, lib. III., li. About the etymology deriving it from Noah's ark I find nothing.

p. 212, l. 17. *Raphane*.—Modern: Rafinêh, or Rafanîyeh (Sir G. Warner).

p. 212, l. 18. *Sabatory*.—An intermittent spring, described by Pliny (XXXI. 2) as resting on the Sabbath. D'Outremeuse, when making it work only on the Sabbath, may have intended a joke.

p. 212, l. 21. *on nyghtes fresez*.—Jacques de Vitry (p. 1098) knows such a river in Persia.—Here the pilgrimage of Boldensele comes to an end, and the author of *Mandeville*, before choosing another guide, indulges in geographical commonplaces.

p. 214, l. 8. *Dispolis* or *Lidda*.—From Boldensele.—Bertrandon de la Broquière, 1892, p. 10.

p. 214, l. 14. *Modyn*.—Burchard, *De Terra Sancta*, 1864: De Bethsames duabus leucis contra austrum in monte Juda videtur mons Modin, de quo oriundi erant Machabei. Et monstrantur hodie sepulchra eorum illic etiam procul, ita ut videantur in mari, quia alte situs est locus, p. 84.

p. 214, l. 17. *Techue*.—From Eugesippus.

p. 214, l. 23. *pe sauour of pe see*.—H.: le charoier de la mer, i. e. the sea passage. Other MSS. give *flaireur*, smell, the reading translated in the Egerton MS.

p. 214, l. 33. *Ruffynell*.—Somewhere about Nicomedia. What Sybel writes of the geographical confusion of Albert d'Aix applies to this passage of the *Mandeville*, which is inspired by Albert: The confusion is worst in dealing with the army of Poitou, which is thrown about from Nicomedia to Stancona (Iconium), from thence to Finiminae (Philomelium), then marches again to Reclei (Archalla, i. e. the modern Erkle, on the border of Armenian Cilicia); in brief, to all the quarters of the world (*Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, 1881, p. 71).

p. 214, l. 35. *Pulueral*.—Identified by Sir G. Warner with Bafra, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, south-east of Sinope. *Alb. Aqu.*, 1879, l. VIII., c. xvii.: castellum imperatoris



Pulveral nomine Παυράκη. Paurae or Paurace, according to Dr. Bovenschen.

p. 215, l. 7. *Lay*.—Explained by Sir G. Warner as the French lay = lake, repeating that word from l. 6.

p. 215, l. 8. *Nairmont and by þe vales of Mailbrins*.—*Alb. Aqu.*, 1879, l. III., c. i., p. 339 : in vertice Nigrorum montium in valle nomine Malabrunias.

p. 215, l. 9. *Ormanx* is not recognisable.

p. 215, l. 10. *Riclay and Scanton*.—*Alb. Aqu.*, 1879, l. III. c. i., p. 340 : Tancredus . . . ad urbes Finiminis, Reclei et Stancona descendit. The *Mandeville* turns the towns into rivers.

p. 215, l. 11. *Antioche þe lesse*.—Yalovatch.

p. 215, l. 16. *Romany*.—Asia Minor.

p. 215, l. 17. *Florach*.—*Alb. Aqu.*, 1879, l. IV., c. vi. : Foloraca arx, quae est juxta mare et confinia regni Russiae. All the names in this passage are in Albert.

p. 215, l. 23. *Artoise*.—Artasia.

p. 215, l. 25. *to þe cite of Damasc*.—H. : et vient des fontaignes et des roches de deuers la cite de Damasc, *i. e.* and it arises from wells and rocks in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Mistranslation.

p. 215, l. 29. *Eustace*.—Chap. clxi. of the *Golden Legend*. Eugesippus : Montes Libani et planitiem Archados transfluit Abana, mari magno se copulans finibus illis, quibus S. Eustachius, ab uxore sua privatus et filiis desolatus recessit (p. 994).

p. 215, l. 31. *reed see*.—Instead of Mediterranean !

p. 215, l. 32. *Phenice*.—H. : Phemynie, *i. e.* Philomelium, incidentally mentioned out of its proper geographical place by Albert of Aix (Sir G. Warner).

p. 216, l. 5. *ranne þe water*.—H. : court celle riuere.

p. 216, l. 7. *.ccc. and fyfty toures*.—Albert has only four (III. 38).

p. 216, l. 13. *lund of Channel*.—Jacques de Vitry (p. 1073) : Emissena civitas, quae hodie Camela seu Chamele, *i. e.* ancient Emessa, now Homs.

p. 216, l. 17. *Gibilet*.—Byblos.

p. 216, l. 21. *Maryn*.—H. : par marine, *i. e.* along the sea-shore.

Ibid. *Flagramy*.—Sir G. Warner writes : in Syria.

p. 216, l. 30. *anoper way*.—Hayton, *Fleur des Histoires de la Terre d'Orient*, 1906, IV., c. xxv., p. 247, also describes three routes for Crusaders to the Holy Land, the first across Barbary,

quite unlike the above, the second partly by land, over Constantinople, the third altogether by sea. This threefold division may have induced d'Outremeuse to describe a third Continental route to the Holy Land across Tartary !

Ibid. *3yt es pare*, etc.—H. : Il y ad vnqore vn autre chemyn par ou homme puet aler sanz passer mer tot par terre iusques a Ierusalem de Flandres ou de France en auant.—Here the fiction of a traveller starting from the British Isles, as in c. i., p. 4, l. 21, is not upheld. Neither is the starting-point placed at Liège, the actual residence of both the English doctor Mandeville and the Liégeois notary d'Outremeuse.



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